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## PARASURĀMAPRATĀPA

Its Authorship, date and the authorities quoted in it.\*

(Har Dutt Sharma)

Paraśurāmapratāpa is a huge work of an encyclopædias nature. No other library possesses the complete ms of this work, except the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, Library. But even the Institute mss. of this work have a large number of folia missing. The work is on the 'general topics of Dharmasāstra and contains 16 sections or kāṇḍas. It has been split up into 17 different codices in the Institute library. Burnell's catalogue of Tanjore library ( p. 131 a ) records only 5 mss. of 5 sections. In the Baroda Oriental Institute there is only one ms. ( no. 5887 ) of one section ( राजवल्लभकाण्ड ).

The stupendous nature of the work can be judged by the total number of leaves, which is 2445. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the various mss., to discuss the question of its authorship and date and to give a general survey of its contents together with a few interesting topics dealt with in it.

The work is divided into the following 16 काण्ड's :

(1) प्रतापकाण्ड. Ms. No. 234 of the Viśrambag collection II, and No. 787 of the Descriptive Catalogue. Here the author gives the history of परशुराम जामदग्न्य from the various पुराणs, which are स्कन्द, ब्रह्मण्ड or आदिमहापुराण, हरिवंश, महाभारत-शान्तिपर्व, भागवत and पद्मपुराण. It has got only 114 leaves out of 163; 49 are missing.

(2) जातिविवेक or उपोद्घातकाण्ड. Ms. No. 233 of Viś. II, and No. 791 of the Descriptive Cat. According to the अनुक्रमणिका of this काण्ड, given in Ms. No. 244 of Viś. II ( which is again incomplete as it does not contain the first leaf ), the main topics dealt with in this काण्ड, are the different castes, their religious duties

\* Paper read at the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, December 1941.

and the आश्रम्स. Out of 56 leaves it contains only 52. It is interesting to note that it contains almost the complete text of the जातिविवेक, a work on different castes by गोपीनाथ or गोपीश्वर. The opening lines of the work as given in one Ms. are :—

Fol. 44 b—गोपिनाथमतानुसारेण जातिनिर्णयं (यः) प्रदर्शिते (इर्ते)।

संगि( गी )ते साहिते ( त्ये ) त्येवकृत्वै ( ? ) वैद्यके च कविताथाम्।

आगमशास्त्रकलासु च गोपीनाथः प्रागल्भते व्यासः ॥

मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रवाक्यनिचयानालोक्य विस्तारितो

ग्रंथो जांतिविवेक एष विदुषा गोपीश्वरेण क्षितौ।

सूर्यः स्वीकृते यथा क्षितिसं वर्षात्पलं ( ? )...

कर्तुं लोकमनामयं घनरसैः पूर्णं सुवर्णास्पदम्।

जातिविवेकं धीराः कृतपदगुणं नानामकयंतु ( ? )

जातिविवेकेन यथा जानंत्यलयोनुमकं दरं ( ? )।

एषां केलिकलाकलापकथनं संस्तूयते च...

द्वृत्रिप्रसरो भविष्यति ततः संक्षिप्यते विस्तरैः।

गंगौघस्थं सहस्रधा परिगतस्यावस्तत्यैकामृतं

ज्ञात्वा के कलयंतु काव्यरचनां संतो गुणग्राहिणः।

आचारे व्यवहारे च प्रायश्चित्ते विशेषतः।

ज्ञात्वा जातिविवेकं हि विश्रः सम्यत्वमर्हति ॥

I was able to examine two more MSS. of this work — No. 46 of A. 1883-4 and No. 185 of 1886-92 in the Institute library. With minor differences they agree with the text given in परशुरामप्रताप and the extract given in the I. O. Ms. No. 1638. Both the MSS. of जातिविवेक, begin with अथ विश्वभरवास्तुशास्त्रात्, and then follow about a dozen verses, before we come to the verse — सद्योजात इतः पुराणपुरुषो इति etc., which is the first verse in the I. O. Ms. quoted above. It appears that in these MSS. of जातिविवेक, a quotation from विश्वभरवास्तुशास्त्र has been inserted in the beginning by some late hand. The whole work does not appear to be a part of विश्वभरवास्तुशास्त्र as Peterson thinks in his Ulwar Cat. No. 1323. It is difficult to give the exact date of गोपीनाथ. All that can be said under the present circumstances of our knowledge is that he must be earlier than 1550. A. D.

(3) आहिककाण्ड, Ms. No. 241 of Viś. II, and No. 783 of the Descriptive Catalogue. According to the अनुक्रमणिका of this काण्ड given in Ms. No. 243 of Viś II. the main topics dealt with are the

daily duties to be performed by द्विजs. It is a fragment, containing only 236 out of 313 leaves, and it ends abruptly. On fol. 31-32, we find a संकल्प, wherin the place and time are mentioned as गंगागौतम्योदेश्चिणे देशे, गौतम्याः पूर्वकूर्लु.....वर्तमाने त्रिपंचाशच्छताधिकचतुःसहस्रमहायुगांतवर्तिनि कलियुगे etc. This works out to be 4153 Kali era. Taking 3101 B. C. as the start of this era, we arrive at 1052 A. D. as the date recorded in the महापुराण from which the संकल्प is quoted.

Another interesting point about this Ms. is that it gives a long extract (12 leaves, from fol. 195 b to fol. 216 b) from some text of पाकचिद्या. On fol. 195 b, we read अथ श्रीपरमेश्वरपूजाक्रमप्रास-नैवेद्यप्रसंगात्पाक(का)ध्यायो निस्पत्यते ।. It is some आयुर्वेद text, ascribed to सुखेण (spelt as सुखेण देव), and contains miscellaneous information about water, milk, different grains, dishes, etc.

Foll. 265a ff contain very interesting text on शथनविधि, स्त्री-पुंयोग, aphrodisiac medicines and a detailed account of manufacturing different scents, the Colophon on fol. 276a being इत्यन्तः—  
पुरचिन्तायां गन्धचिन्ता । This is followed by — शस्त्रेण वैणाविनिगूहनेन  
विदूरथस्था महिषी जघान । विषप्रदिधेन च नूपुरेण देवीं विरक्ता किल काशिराजम् ॥

Foll. 278 a ff contain स्वमाध्याय.

(4) संस्कारकाण्ड. Ms. No. 157 of Viś. I, and No. 780 (ii) of the Descriptive Catalogue. The codex No. 157, contains संस्कार and तिथिकाण्डs. For the sake of reference I call the former as 780(ii) and the latters as 780(i). Out of 410 leaves, the संस्कारकाण्ड has only 352 remaining, 58 are missing. The अनुक्रमणिका is given in Ms. No. 245 of Viś. II. It deals with संस्कारs and quotes a vast number of works on वैद्यक, ज्योतिष, तंत्र, धर्म, etc.

Foll. 69 a to 84b contain the whole of the first part of बालचिकित्सा or दिशुरक्षारत्न by पृथिवीमल, son of मदनपाल, and elder brother of मान्धातृ.

On fol. 104b, we have an extract on विषकन्त्रा or poison damsel. I am going to deal with this problem at length in a separate paper.

Foll. 111a-112a give the text of a work called बालकरक्षा or बालरक्षिका by कस्णप्राणनाथ. It begins :—

अथ बालकरक्षा

रक्षां संक्षिप्य वक्ष्यामि बलिपूजादिभिः शिशोः ।

ग्रहाः केचिदसाध्याः स्युः केचित्साध्याः प्रकीर्तिः ॥

रत्नावली—क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरानुसारेण बालकरक्षा कथ्यते । It ends :—

दृष्ट्वा रत्नावलीयुक्तं क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरम् ।

करुणाप्राणनाथेन क्रतेयं बालरक्षिका ॥

करुणा कृपा । करुणा नाम्नी काता ( न्ता ) च । तप्राणनाथेनेये क्रतेयर्थः ॥

On. Fol. 137a our author criticises हेमाद्रि on the question of अधिकमास.

On fol. 141a we have an extract from मंत्रहस्त्य, a work so far not known. It begins :—

आयुःकामः प्रजाकामः स्वर्गकामो जितेद्विष्यः ।

अर्थयेद्वेतां कांचित्पुष्टिदां तुष्टिदां पराम् ॥

तद्विष्यकरमौजात्व ( त्य ) विद्यापुष्टिविवर्धनम् ।

त्रुद्धिमानभ्यसेन्मन्त्रं हितमा—युंभात्मनः ॥ It ends :—

इति श्रीमंत्ररहस्योत्तं मंत्रस्वीकारविधानम् । fol. 141b

Foll. 190ff discuss the important point about the marriage with maternal uncle's daughter ( मातुलकन्या ). The author's conclusion, एतेन मातुलसुताविवाहविषये विवादोऽपि परास्तः, proves him to be a southerner.

Foll. 276-289 contain an unnamed work on विवाह, in 13 अध्यायाः and 344 आर्याः. It begins:—

समुरासुरकिञ्चरथक्षोरगराक्षसैः सदा प्रणतम् ।

सकलभुवनैकनाथं भानुं भक्तया प्रणम्यादौ ॥ १ ॥

शौनकगणं पराकारविशिष्टमृगुबादरायणमतानि ।

दृष्ट्वा वच्च विवाहं स्फुटविकटार्थाभिरार्थाभिः ॥ २ ॥

The topics dealt with are (1) शकुनाः, (2) कन्यालाभः, (3) कन्यावरणम्, (4) इन्द्राणिर्पुजनम्, (5) मासफलम्, (6) वारफलम्, (7) तिथिफलम्, (8) मिथिकाध्यायः, (9) नक्षत्रप्रकरणम्, (10) षड्गंगमृद्धिः, (11) ग्रहभावफलाध्यायः, (12) चन्द्रलम्पयोगाध्यायः and (13) विवाहे तिथ्यादेः सामान्यतौ निर्णयः ।

I have not been able to identify this work.

On fol. 359b, we have :—

अथ शाल्यज्ञानं कु( कू )र्मयामले

प्रश्ने वा स्याद्यति प्राच्यां शाल्यं नारं भवेत् ( ये ? ) तदा ।

सार्वहस्तयमाणेन तच्च मानुष्मृत्यवे ।

कः प्रश्ने वह्निदिग्भागे ख( न )शाल्यं करद्ये ।

भूतदण्डो भवेत्तत्र भयं नैव निवर्तते ।

च प्रश्ने यदि यास्थायां नशाल्यमधो भवेत् ।

तदृगृहे स्वामिनो मृत्युं कुर्यादाकृतिस्थितम् ॥ etc.

It is followed by the following diagram :—

प	व	क
स	य	च
ह	ए	त

I have not been able to identify this work.

(5) तिथिकाण्ड. Ms. No. 157 of Viś. I, and Descriptive Catalogue No. 780 (i). Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II gives its अनुक्रमणिका. The Ms. contains 551 out of 559 leaves, and it deals with the different तिथिः of every month, together with the particular religious rites to be performed on those days.

(6) व्रतकाण्ड, (7) दानकाण्ड and (8) कर्मविपाककाण्ड. All these three काण्डs are contained in Ms. No. 158 of Viś. II. For the sake of referring to them separately, I have named them as 158 (i) a, 158 (i) b and 158 (i) c respectively. They contain 51, 261 and 340 leaves respectively. The अनुक्रमणिकाs, of all the three काण्डs are given in Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II.

Ms. No. 158 (i) b, on foll. 257 a ff, gives a text from नंदिपुराण on trees and their planting. It is called आरामकृत्य. It is followed by an extract on वृक्षप्रतिष्ठा from the मत्स्यपुराण.

Ms. No. 158 (i) c, on fol. 251a, we find the colophon इति सर्वशास्त्रे कर्मविपाके सिद्धिरचिते प्रायश्चित्तादि(धि)कारः समाप्तः। I have not been able to identify the quotations or the author.

(9) प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड. Ms. No. 560 of Viś. I, and Descriptive Cat. No. 790. It contains 72 out of 76 leaves and deals with प्रायश्चित्तs. Its index ( अनुक्रमणिका ) is given in Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II.

(10) आश्रौचकाण्ड. Ms. No. 240 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Cat. No. 782. The codex contains only 42 leaves and breaks off with the अनृतवार्तापर्व. It has no separate index, but the contents are given in the beginning in अनुष्टुप् metres.

(11) आद्वैकाण्ड. Ms. No 246 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Cat. No. 789. It contains 78 out of 105 leaves, and is incomplete. Kane and Aufrecht think that this codex contains also a com. आद्वैदीपकलिका by वोपदेव. But, both appear to be wrong. The

last colophon of our codex—इति श्रीबोपदेवपंडितकृतौ आश्वलायनाचार्य.. संस्मितौ श्राद्धदीपकलिका संपूर्ण, seems to have misled them. The author of परशुरामप्रताप usually quotes works along with their colophons even. Although I have not been able to find a work called श्राद्धदीपकलिका, but the examination of the text led me to the discovery that it was almost identical with the आश्वलायन-गृह्यकारिकाविवरण text (Ms. No. 15 of 1871-72 of the Bhandarkar Institute). The author calls himself a pupil of उपदेव (read आपदेव ?), but gives no name of his own. On further examination I have found extensive quotations from the आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकाविवरण in our work. The date of this Ms. is Sam 1750. It appears that the author of परशुरामप्रताप knew that author's name, and it was बोपदेव. It is possible that बोपदेव wrote an independent work called श्राद्धदीपकलिका, based on his विवरण and परशुरामप्रताप has quoted the work. But the problem is not finally settled. It requires further examination.

(12) प्रतिष्ठाकाण्ड. Ms. No. 236 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Cat. No. 785. The codex is a fragment, containing 36 leaves, and ending on fol. 56b abruptly. Its अनुक्रमणिका is given in Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II. Foll. 32b ff. give वृक्षायुर्वेद according to वराहसंहिता.

(13) राजवल्लभकाण्ड. Ms. No. 239 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Cat. No. 781. It is a fragment, containing only 37 leaves, and ending abruptly on fol. 51b. The index is given in Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II. This Ms. Contains an interesting extract from some work of अमरसिंह (?) on छ्वारिकायुद्ध.

But :—cf. ज्योतिनिबन्ध, p. 342, अथ द्वन्द्ययुद्धम्—समरसिंहे—द्वन्द्यं दुर्गं कविशत्रुरङ्गं युद्धं चतुर्विभ्रम्। प्राधान्यमेषां द्वन्द्यस्य युद्धस्थेति तदुच्यते ॥ १ ॥ etc.

This chapter on द्वन्द्ययुद्धे contains 15 verses, all ascribed to समरसिंह. The next chapter is अथ छ्वारिकायुद्धम्, the first 6 verses of which do not bear the name of source. The next 6 verses are from लक्षणसमुच्चय, followed by 6 more verses from समरसिंह. There are two more sub-headings अथ छ्वारिकोपासितः (containing 3 verses) and अथ मन्त्रः (containing the mantras), which are not ascribed to any author.

By the above comparison I am inclined to believe that the name अमरसिंह in this Ms. is a mistake for समरसिंह.

(14) व्यवहारकाण्ड. Ms. No. 235 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Catalogue No. 786. It is incomplete and contains 79 out of 91 leaves. It has no index.

(15) अद्भुतकाण्ड. Ms. No. 238 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Catalogue No. 784. It is incomplete, containing 97 out of 127 leaves. Its index is given in Ms. No. 242 of Viś. II.

(16) मन्त्रकाण्ड. Ms. No. 237 of Viś. II, and Descriptive Catalogue No. 788. It is incomplete and contains 55 out of 75 leaves.

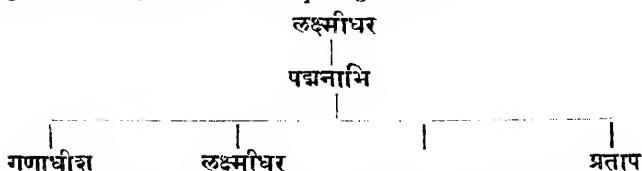
Before coming to the question of authorship, I quote the relevant verses which throw some light on it. These verses are found in the beginning of जातिविवेक or उपोद्घातकाण्ड, Ms. No. 791, (=No. 233 of Viś. II).

Fol. 2 a आस्ते पर्वतराजसद्याचरणव्यालंवमाना भृत्यं  
 संपद्धिस्थिदिवौकसां बहुगुणानेदैकसंदोहिनी ।  
 विद्यवस्तास्थिलमोहसन्मुनिमनःसंमोहिनी मंडनं  
 भृत्यकस्य निजामशाहनगरी कामैकदोग्धी नृणाम् ॥ १४ ॥  
 सौधैरंब[र]चुंविरत्नशिखरैररानंदपूर्णैर्जनै—  
 रुद्धानैः कलकण्ठसंगविल[स]कल्पद्रुमामैद्रुमैः ।  
 शकाधिष्ठितपूरिवेयममला ब्रह्मपिंससेविता  
 श्रीमद्राजनिजामशाहनगरी संलक्षितश्यते भूमिषैः ॥ १५ ॥  
 भूदेवैरमरावतीम (fol. 2b) णिगृहैरचिष्मता संथमा-  
 द्वर्मस्यार्थंपुरी निरंतरकृतौ (?) पुण्यैर्तुण्यात्मता (?) ।  
 सौधैर्गंधवता सुमा(धा)परिमलद्रव्यैः कुवेरालका  
 लक्ष्मीवद्धिरपारपारमहसेशानोव या लक्ष्यते ॥ १६ ॥  
 सुवर्णवप्रजघना फुरद्रत्नदुकूलिनी ।  
 अंकसंस्था तु सद्याद्रेष्टश्यते दयितेव या ॥ १७ ॥  
 याहंमदेति पुरवासिभिरुद्धतासौ (?) संकीर्तिता वरगुणैरभिनन्दय काले ।  
 भूपा मुदा परमया विहरंति यत्र संपत्तिचासनिचयैरहसुन्मदोच्चैः (?) ॥ १८ ॥  
 आसीद्वृन्तपराजराजसुकुटालंकाररत्नांशुभिः  
 संमूच्छन्नखरागमंदितपदद्वंद्वः प्रजा रंजयन् ।  
 आक्रम्याथ समुद्रसुद्वितमहीमुन्माददावांकुरः  
 श्रीमत्पौढनिजामशाहनृपतिर्तस्त्वामुपादै(?)र्महान् ॥ १९ ॥  
 तस्यानुमान्यो नृपतिः प्रतापः कुलप्रदीपः सुकृतैकधामा ।  
 राज्ञामतिप्रेमतयाभिवंदयो धर्मप्रवृत्तौ हरिरेव साक्षात् ॥ २० ॥

आश्रायाः खलु तत्र तत्र मुनिभिर्धान्तुः सकाशात् सूता-  
 स्तन्मन्ये भृगुवंश एव पठितः सद्गीर्वरीयानयम् ।  
 सवाँ(र्वा)शैर्निजशक्तिं (र)णुतनयागर्भं प्रविष्टो हरी(रिः)  
 यत्र क्षत्रकुलप्रकाशाशमनस्त्रिलोक्यनाथः स्वयम् ॥ २७ ॥  
 यस्मिन् संनिविश्चन्द्रादारवचितः (?) प्रादाद् द्विजेष्यो महीं  
 क्षेत्रश्रेणिवराग्निहत्य तरसा त्रिः सप्तकृत्वो महान् ।  
 शंभुर्यत्र चकार वासममलं मत्वा विभूया स्वयं  
 नाम्ना श्रीजमदग्निरित्यपि परां(र)त्याता(त)स्त्रिलोकान्तरे ॥ २८ ॥  
 तस्मिन्वंशे जामदग्न्यो वारा (?) सी-  
 द्वाम्ना सूर्यश्वास्त्वस्तोत्तरोत्पि (?) ।  
 वंद्य(द्यः) श्रीमान् सर्वभूतेश्वराणां  
 भृत्यादि(दी)नामांतरज्ञो महीयान् ॥ २९ ॥  
 तदन्वये राजकुलावतंसकैरलभ्यकीर्तिं: सकलं धरातलम् ।  
 यशोवितानैरवभासयन्नभूलक्ष्मीधरः पुष्ट्यजनोपसेवितः ॥ ३० ॥  
 तस्माच्च जातः खलु पद्मनाभिर्दान्तः सदाचाररतो गरीयान् ।  
 धुरंधरो धर्मवतां नृपाणामनन्तसद्धर्मरतो महीयान् ॥ ३१ ॥  
 बभूवुरस्याथ सुता महान्तः सदा सदाचाररतैकघुर्याः ।  
 निरन्तराराधनतप्यरस्य शंभोरिवैते चतुरः पुमर्थाः ॥ ३२ ॥  
 तेषां वरीयान् सुकृतैकवामा नाम्ना गणाधीश इति प्रसिद्धः ।  
 ततस्तु लक्ष्मीधरनामधेयः पुरारिभक्तो द्विजघुर्यवर्थः ॥ ३३ ॥  
 तेषां कन्तियान् गुणसागरस्त्वधा सम्भृक् जिताराधनलघ्वया कृती ।  
 युक्तः सदाचाररतैघवशत्रां राजा प्रतापः कृतपुष्ट्यनंदितः ॥ ३४ ॥  
 यस्यासीद्वासने(न?) रमावितरणे कालक्रमश्वर्यां (या)  
 धर्मस्यास(स्य?) विनोदसौख्यमभवद्विद्याप्रसंगोविदाम् ।  
 श्रीमद्भागवत्किलङ्घविभवं(वः) कीर्ति वितन्वन्मही-  
 पीठे धर्मकृ(भ्रु)तां निरंतरमसौ सेव्यः सुधांशुज्जवलः ॥ ३५ ॥  
 कांडैः षोडशाभिः प्रतापनृपतिः श्रीकूर्मद्वष्टुच्या बहून्  
 ग्रथान्वीक्ष्य परंपरोपकृतये रामप्रतापात्सुर्वाः ।  
 ग्रथं धर्मविनिर्णयाथ विदधे ज्ञानारिभेदे धनुः  
 सज्यं रामपरश्चधागणग्रन्थं (?) श्रीमत्प्रताभिमध्यम् ॥ ३६ ॥  
 आद्ये प्रतापकांडिः स्मिन् जामदग्न्यानुवर्णनम् ।  
 प्रवीक्ष्योर्कुं पुराणानि सर्वपापम्भमुत्तमम् ॥ ३७ ॥

उपोद्यातो द्वितीयेऽस्मिन् आहिकं च तृतीयके ।  
 गर्भाधनादिसंस्कारा निर्णीताश्च चतुर्थके ॥ ३८ ॥  
 चैत्राब्दिनमारम्भ फाल्गुनामादिनावधि ।  
 तिथिकर्तव्यमीमांसा निर्णीता पंचमे क्रमात् ॥ ३९ ॥  
 पष्टे ब्रतकलापश्च निर्णीतः सप्तमे तथा ।  
 निर्णीतानि प्रशस्तानि दानान्यष्टमके तथा ॥ ४० ॥  
 विपाकः कर्मणासुक्तः प्रायश्चित्तमतः परम् ।  
 नवमे चितिं तद्वदाशौचं दशमे तथा ॥ ४१ ॥  
 आङ्गकर्तव्यता रुदे प्रतिष्ठा द्वादशे पुनः ।  
 राजवल्लभसंज्ञं तु त्रयोदशमुदाहृतम् ॥ ४२ ॥  
 व्यवहारश्च निर्णीतः काष्ठे शकमिते पुनः ।  
 अङ्गतानां पंचदशके विधानं कथितं शुभम् ॥ ४३ ॥  
 संक्षेपतस्तु मंत्राणां निर्णयः षोडशे कृतः ।  
 स्मृतिमीमांसका नूनं धारयन्तु हृदा सदा ॥ ४४ ॥

From the verses quoted above it is clear that the patron of प्रतापनृपति or प्रतापराज was निजामशाह whose capital was अहमदपुर, that is Ahmadnagar. Mr. P. K. Gode, the Curator of the Bhandarkar Institute Library, identifies the Muslim King with Burhan Shah Nizam Shah of Nizam Shahi dynasty, and Mr. Gode places प्रतापराज (surnamed as सावाजी or सांवाजी) between 1531 and 1550 A.D. As he is dealing with this problem in detail in a separate paper (to be published recently), I shall not enter into it. प्रतापराज was a devotee of परशुराम and himself belonged to जामदग्न्यगोत्र. His pedigree is :—



He was a pupil of कूर्मसूरि. Although in the various colophons found in this work प्रतापराज is mentioned as the author of this work, yet there are traces which go towards ascribing the work to कूर्मसूरि himself. I give below the usual colophon :—

इति श्रीमत्रौढप्रतापनृपतिशारण्यनिजामशाहानुचरजामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्रोऽवसावाजीग्रतापराजकृतनिवंधे परशुरामप्रतापे, etc.

But usually this Colophon is preceded by the following verse:-

श्रीमत्यंडितपद्मनाभतनयक्षमापालचूडामणि-  
रादेशात् प्रचुरप्रतापनृपतेः श्रीकूर्मसूरिः सुधीः ।  
वैष्णे कर्मणि सर्वशास्त्रानिषुणः ख्यातार्थसेवापरः  
ख्यातं सर्वगुणैर्व्यथाप्रसुरधी रामप्रतापं महात् ॥

Here, the words आदेशात् and कूर्मसूरिः... व्यथात् leave no doubt as to the fact that it is कूर्मसूरि who is the real author and who, after singing the praises of his patron प्रतापराज in high-flown language, has ascribed his labour to the latter. कूर्मसूरि must have been a great scholar, versed in various branches of learning, as is evident from the number of works and authorities he has quoted. I give here a list of those works, etc., and the entries in it are over 300. In the case of works or authors who are little known or quite unknown, I have given parts of their quotations, in order to facilitate their identification by future scholars. In the case of those authors or works who are well-known and about whom information has been supplied by Mr. P. V. Kane in the Index of his History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. I, names only have been mentioned. The scholars who will throw some light on the following will be rendering a great service to the cause of research in Indology.

अडबाल or अडबील

वराहजातक

समरसिंह, a writer on लुरिकायुद्ध

वास्तुतन्त्र

करुणाग्राननाथ, author of ब्रालरक्षिका

विचारिदेव—देशी(शि)कचकवर्ती

कर्मविपाक by सिद्धि

विश्वरूपप्रवीण

कारिकानिबन्ध

विश्वामरदान

गर्गजातक

विश्वरूपनिण्य

ग्रहप्रदीप

व्याघिनाडि

धरणीघ्रत

शिवज्ञानरहस्य

बृहती

शौनकोपस्मृति

बृहत्कालनिर्णय

श्राव्द्धरन्नावली

ब्रह्मपिंसहिता

संक्षिप्तजातक

माठर

सप्तपिंधर्म

माहेन्द्रपद्मति

सर्वशाकुन

यमदीपिका

सहदेव, author of सहदेवमत

रत्नमालाकोश

सुधानिधि

रुद्रकल्पता

स्कन्दरहस्य

लाङ्गलेय

स्मृतिरत्नमञ्जूषा

लुधजातक

स्मृत्यर्णव

There can be little doubt that this work is of major importance for the chronology of many works in general, and for the history of धर्मशास्त्र in particular.

As regards the date arrived at by Mr. Gode, I would mention two names which go against it. They are :—जातकतिलक and दैवज्ञवल्लभ. In the following list I have given my reasons, which, I hope, Mr. Gode will certainly take into consideration in his forthcoming paper on the subject.

In the end it is my most pleasant duty to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. P. K. Gode, who has ever been a source of inspiration and ungrudging help to me.

#### LIST OF WORKS AND AUTHORS QUOTED IN PARAŚURĀMAPRATĀPA

अङ्गिरस्—Ms. No. 791, fol. 31b.

अडबालमत—In Ms. No. 780 (i) on fol. 297b we find अथ भाद्रपदचुक्षुरं गृहण्पञ्चमीविधानं अडबालमते. On fol. 299a—इति अडबालमते गृहण्पञ्चमीविधानम्। Aufrecht (c. c. I, 6 b) mentions one अडबाल, author of आपस्तम्बसामान्यमूत्रवृत्ति. We have no access to the Ms.

अत्रि—Ms. No. 791, fol. 22a.

अनन्तभट्टीय—It is different from अनन्तभट्टी or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति. The quotation उपचासनिषेधे तु भश्यं किञ्चित्प्रकल्पयेत् (Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 209a) from अनन्तभट्टीय, and तथा च ‘कलावेकादशी यत्र द्वादश्युग्रात भवेत्। दिनक्षेत्रपि स पुण्या यतीनामुत्तरा तिथि ॥’ रिति। यत्वनन्तभट्टीय वाक्ये यतिपदं गृहस्थस्याप्युपलक्षणं नेतरव्यावृत्यर्थम्। तथा सति प्राप्यभातेन(?)पुत्रतो गृहस्थस्य निषेधानुपपत्तिरिति यदुक्तं तद्वागवतमतपक्षपातेनेति गम्यते।..... अतश्च भागवतमतानुसारेणानन्तभट्टव्याख्यानमिति प्रतीयते (ibid, fol. 214a) of अनन्तभट्ट, go in favour of identifying him with अनन्तभट्ट, son of महादेव, author of तिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयविन्दु (Ms. dated 1526-27 A.D. in Baroda O. I. No. 10611). See Kane : Hist. Dh. I, 679.

अपराक्रम—Ms. No. 791, fol. 32a.

अपेक्षितार्थद्योतिनी—Com. by नारायण mentioned in शिशुग्रस्तारत्न, a manual for the treatment of children, by पृथ्वीमल, son of मदनपाल, and elder brother of मान्धारू. See I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 2720 ; Kane Hist. Dh., I, section 93.

अमरसिंह—author of नामलिङ्गानुशासन. Ms. No. 791, fol. 49b.

**अमरसिंह**—different from the above. अथ कुरिकायुद्धं अमरसिंहे—द्वंद्वुण्-  
श्रापि चतुरंगयुद्धं चतुर्विधम्। प्राधान्यमेषां यत्तस्य युद्धस्येति तदुच्यते ॥ and  
so on (Ms. No. 781, fol. IIa). This quotation is attributed  
to समरसिंह in ज्योतिर्निबन्ध (A. S. S.), p. 342.

**आर्णव**—probably, the same as महार्णव or महार्णवप्रकाश, mentioned by  
हेमाद्रि. It is also called स्मृतिमहार्णव. Quotation in Ms. 780  
(ii), fol. 148a is—शास्त्राधिषेषं मुख्यगृहेण युक्ते कुर्याद्विने वाप्युपनाय-  
नास्त्यम्। etc. cf. Kane : Hist. Dh. I, p. 308, fn. 701.

**आचारसार**—mentioned by हेमाद्रि. Ms. No. 783, fol. 277b.

**आचार्य** or आचार्यस्मृति—often quoted in आश्वलायनगृहाकारिकाविवरण  
(Bhandarkar O. I. Ms. No. 15 of 1871-72) by a pupil of  
उपदेव (Is he identical with आपदेव, son of एकनाथ?) whose  
name was वोपदेव. Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 57b.

**आपस्तम्ब**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4a.

**आप्नायारहस्य**—‘कुण्डानि चतुरसाणि वृत्तनानाकृतानि च।’ (Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 19b). Quoted also in कुण्डरन्नाकर by विश्वनाथ द्विवेदिन्, son  
of श्रीपति (a resident of काशी) and तैजस्विनी, grandson of  
जगद्गाथ, and younger brother of विष्णुजी कवीन्द्र (I. O. Ms. No.  
3157, p. 1144a), and in कुण्डोद्योतदर्शन, a com. by शङ्करभट्ट,  
on his [father's] कुण्डोद्योत, composed at Benares in 1671 A.D.  
(I. O. Ms. No. 3164, p. 1148b).

**आर्यभट्टसिद्धान्त**—Ms. No. 789 (ii), fol. 136 a.

**आर्णिषेणि**—‘नात्मक्षेत्रं पांडयन्ति विषमस्था अपि ग्रहाः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 2a.

**आहिक**—‘क्रतुकालभिगामी यः स्वदारनिरतश्च यः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol.  
57a.

**इन्द्रनारदसंवाद**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 109b.

**ईश्वरगौरीसंवाद**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 8a.

**इत्युत्तरगार्यांसंवाद**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 267 b.

**उत्तरगार्य**—Ms. No. 780 (ii). इत्युत्तरगार्योक्तचतुर्दशीति समाप्तः, fol. 114b;  
‘शिनीवालीशांतिः’, fol. 115b.

**उत्पलाचार्याविवृति**—‘मूलायस्य दुष्टफलं परित्यागाद्वीयते।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 105a. The work is पट्ट्यंचाशिकाहोराविवृति, a commentary  
on the पट्ट्यंचाशिका of पृथुयशस् (son of वराहमिहिर), by भट्ट उत्पल  
who flourished about 966 A.D. Two MSS. of this work are  
noticed under Nos. 6329 and 6330 of I. O. Cat.

**उत्तनसू**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 32a.

**ऋष्यशङ्क**—Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 213a.

**कपर्दिभाष्यकारः**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 55 b.

**करुणाप्राणनाथ**, author of बालरक्षिका. ‘दृष्टा स्त्वावलीयुक्तं क्रियाकाल-  
गुणोत्तरम्। करुणाप्राणनाथेन कृतेयं बालरक्षिका॥’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 112a.

**कर्मविपाक**—by सिद्धि (द्वि)? ‘इति सर्वशास्त्रे कर्मविपाके सिद्धि (द्वि) रचिते  
प्रायश्चित्तादि(धि)कारः समाप्तः।’ Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 251 a.

**कर्मविपाकसंग्रह**—Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 75 a.

**कर्मविपाकसमुच्चय**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 75 a.

**कर्मविपाकसार**—Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 47 b.

**कल्पतरु** by लक्ष्मीधर, Ms. No. 791, fol. 44 a.

**कल्पलता**—‘मातुलस्य सुतोद्वाही विष्णोत्तमाद्वजीवकः।’ Ms. No. 789, fol. 34b.

**कश्यप**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 36 b.

**कात्यायन**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 35 a.

**कामशास्त्र**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 277 b.

**कामिक**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 63 a.

**कारिका**—आश्वलायनग्रहकारिका, Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 33 a.

**कारिकानिबन्ध**—‘आर्ताव दुष्टे सुरराजपूज्ये सिंहस्थिते वा द्विजपुङ्गवानाम्।’ Ms.  
No. 780 (ii), fol. 142 a.

**काण्डाजिनि**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 34 b.

**कालनिर्णय**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 363 a.

**कालविधान**—‘शुक्रे पक्षे निर्मले शीतभानौ शुक्रे जीवे चांबरे दश्यमाने।’ Ms. No.  
780 (ii), fol. 148 a.

**कालविवेक**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 134 a.

**कालाग्रिस्त्रोपनिषद्**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 44 a ff. Quoted in full.

**कालादर्श**—Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 124 b.

**कालिकापुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 8 a.

**कालोत्तर**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 17 a.

**काश्यपटल**—‘पत्न्यग्रजामग्रजं वा हति ज्येष्ठते(क्षे?)जः पुमान्।’ Ms. No. 780  
(ii), fol. 104 b.

**कूर्मपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 5 a.

**कूष्माण्डहोमविवि**—ascribed to जमदग्नि. Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 48 b.

**(श्री)कृष्णरहस्य**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 101 a.

**कौशिक**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 23 a.

**क्रतु**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 154 a.

**क्रियाकालगुणोत्तर**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 83. The work is quoted in  
शिशुरक्षारत्न. I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 2720.

**गद्यव्यास**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 62 b.

**गरुडपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 38 a.

गर्ग—Ms. No. 783, fol. 89 a.

गर्गजातक—‘केशोमास्सुखास्तस्थैः पापैर्वा चन्द्रसंयुतैः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 87 b. This name is mentioned nowhere.

गार्ग्य—Ms. No. 791, fol. 35 b.

गालव—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 375 a.

गुणपताका—a work on erotics. परशुरामप्रताप (Ms. No. 781, fol. 39a) has the following verse—उक्ता गुणपताकायामवस्था सुक्रियापि वा । तामपि न्यायसंवित् (‘वीरीता’?) सिद्धिर्वादादिद्यामहे Verses given on this folio, appear to be from गुणपताका. Unfortunately fol. 35–38 of the Ms. are lost and, hence, nothing definite can be said. The earliest quotation so far recorded is found in हरिहर’s Com. on the मालतीमालव. The date of the Com. is 1216 A.D. So, गुणपताका is earlier than 1216 A.D. See Mr. P. K. Gode’s article ‘Guṇapatāka, an unknown Sanskrit work and its date before 1200 A.D.’ Indian Hist. Quarterly, 1941, Vol. XVII, pp. 1–5.

गृह्णपरिशिष्टकार—‘बह्वस्यं वा स्वगृह्णोत्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तिम्।’—Ms. No. 791, fol. 35 a.

गृह्णसंग्रह—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 33 b.

गापथ्यदाव्याण—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 55 b.

गोपीनाथ—author of जातिविवेक, a lengthy extract from whose work is quoted in Ms. No. 791, fol. 44 b ff. Earlier than 1550 A.D.

गोभिल—Ms. No. 783, fol. 23 a.

ग्रहप्रदीप—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 294 b, spells the name incorrectly as ग्रहप्रदीप;—‘मानैक्यसंडोदयमांतरेभा कार्याणि निहंति पापः।’ No work of this name has been mentioned by Aufrecht, Kane or S. B. Dikshit.

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 134 a.

चतुर्विशतिमत—Ms. No. 790, fol. 18 a.

चलार्चापद्धति—Ms. No. 785, fol. 24 b. The colophon is इति विष्णवा-दिचलार्चापद्धति. Is it by नारायण? Earlier than 1550 A.D.

चन्द्रिका—Quotes चतुर्विशतिमत Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 35 a, and परम-बोधाध्यन in Ms. No. 791, fol. 41 b. It is often quoted.

चिन्तामणि—‘वितस्तिमात्रा योनिःस्यात् पट्टसप्तांगुलविस्तृता।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 13 a. Can we identify it with स्मृतिचिन्तामणि of गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र?

च्यवन—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 109 b.

छारलेय—Ms. No. 791, fol. 35 b.

जमदग्नि—Ms. No. 783, fol. 48 b.

जयन्त—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 313 b.

जयार्णव—Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 43 b.

**जातकतिलक**—In Ms. No. 780 (ii), on fol. 87 a, we find two quotations from this work—केद्रात्परं फरं(परं?) तस्मादापोऽहीमं.....मतम्। तेषु खेटाः फलं दद्युः पूर्वार्थाग्निलवं क्रमात्॥ तनुधनुत्रात्वं धुपुत्रारापित्वयो मृतिः। धर्मकर्मायव्यथा दद्याभावाश्चियास्तनाक्रमात्॥ (?). A work of this name is described in Rājendralal Mitra's Notices, Ms. No. 1896, pp. 212–213. In the list of its contents given there we find खेटादिनिरूपणं। शुभाशुभनिरूपणं च। This would lead us to assign these two quotations to this जातकतिलक. (And there is no other work of this name mentioned anywhere.) Its author कमलाकर आचार्य, was the son of नृसिंह, son of कृष्ण, son of दिवाकर, son of भट्टाचार्य, son of राम. He was born about शक 1530 (= 1608 A.D.) and wrote his सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक at Benares in शक 1510 = 1658 A.D. (S. B. Dikshita's भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 287. Aufrecht is wrong in recording that सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक was written in 1503 A.D. at Benares. For the I. O. MSS. 2890–91, on which Aufrecht's date is based, record शक 1580). Now this जातिविवेक which must have been written near about 1650 A.D., being quoted in परशुरामप्रताप, raises a serious obstacle against assigning about 1550 A.D. to परशुरामप्रताप, as Mr. P. K. Gode does. He is going to examine this problem in one of his papers to be issued. I have taken Mr. Gode's date 1550 A.D. for the परशुरामप्रताप, as he showed me some very important evidence in favour of it, and which he is going to put before the public soon.

**जातकसार**—‘लघोक्तदिशिपद्मायाः शिरोगानिधिपाततः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 68 a. It appears to have been written by नृहरि who bases his work on सारावलि, होशप्रदीप, जन्मप्रदीप. See भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, pp. 486–487.

**जातकोत्तम**—‘शीर्षोदया ( : ? ) सिंहकुंभतुलाद्वीयुग्मवृश्चिकाः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 87 a. It is also quoted in the Com. of मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड. See भारतीयज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 487.

**जातकर्ण्ण**—Ms. No. 790, fol. 16 a. About 4th century A.D.

**जाबालि**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 13 a.

**ज्योतिर्निबन्ध**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), p. 57 a. This work is quoted in the Com. of विवाहपटल of पीताम्बर who composed his own Com. in 1524 A.D. see भारतीयज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 472. ज्योतिर्निबन्ध is by शिवदास.

**ज्योतिर्नृसिंह**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 148 b.

**ज्योतिर्विवरण**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 108 a. Quoted in विवाहपटल com.

**ज्योतिःसिद्धान्त**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 136 b. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**ज्योतिर्वर्णव**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 368 b.

**ज्योतिःपराशर**—‘विवाहे वितते मासांस्त्वजेयुद्गद्दैव हि। सर्विंदाः पिंडनिर्वाप्यमौजीवधे पष्टेव हि॥’ Ms. No. 789, fol. 21 a. This work is quoted in ज्योतिःप्रहीपाङ्कुर by मधुसूदन, composed in the reign of धीरसिंह of तीरभुक्ति (Tirhut)—See I. O. Ms. 3004. The other name of ज्योतिःपराशर is पराशरतन्त्र. There is an authentic date for धीरसिंह, viz. 321 of the लक्ष्मणसेन era in Tirhut (i. e. 1438 A.D.), when a Ms. of श्रीनिवास's सेतुदर्पणी was copied in धीरसिंह's reign. See Hist. Dh. I, p. 399.

**ज्योतिःप्रकाश**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 2 a. Quoted in ज्योतिर्निबन्ध. Earlier than 1524 A.D.

**ज्योतिःसागर**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 362 a.

**ज्ञानरत्नावालि**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 33 a.

**दामरेश्वरतन्त्र**—Ms. No. 788, fol. 18 b.

**द्वौद्धूमिश्र**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 156 a.

**ताजिकतिलक**—‘पापक्षे पंचमे रात्रौ पापैर्बलिभिरन्विते।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 91 b. Mentioned in पीताम्बर's Com. on his विवाहपटल. Earlier than 1524 A.D.

**त्रैलोक्यप्रकाश**—‘रिपुक्षे च तिथौ द्वौतु लग्ने यत्नशुभग्रहौ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 104 b. The work is by हेमप्रसादसरि, composed in 1249 A.D. (जिनरत्नकोशा by H. D. Velankar—To be published by the B. O. R. I.).

**त्रैलोक्यमोहनपांचरात्र**—‘शुक्लवासा भवेन्नित्यं रक्तं चैव विवर्जयेत्।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 38 b.

**त्रैलोक्यसार**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 37 a.

**दक्ष**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 27 b.

**दीपमत**—Ms. No. 783, fol. a—‘अद्विस्तु प्रकृतिस्थाभिष्ठिःपिबेद्द्वु वीक्षितम्।’

**देवीपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 41 b.

**देवल**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 6 b.

**देवज्वलभ**—‘क्षोणिपालविलोकने दिनकरो etc.’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 2 a.

If it is by श्रीपति then its date will be about A.D. 1039; but

if by नीलकण्ठ, then 1587 A.D. But, the latter date conflicts with the date of परशुरामप्रताप; whereas, भारतीयज्योतिःशास्त्र (p. 275) ascribes दैवज्ञवल्लभा to नीलकण्ठ. It is ascribed to श्रीपति in I. O. MSS. 2991, 6353.

**धरणीव्रत**—Seems to be some work on द्वादशीव्रतस्. It is quoted in Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 263 b (बुद्धद्वादशीव्रत), on fol. 432 b (योगेश्वर द्वादशीव्रत) and on fol. 474 a (मत्स्यद्वादशीव्रत).

**धर्मप्रदीप**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 13 a.

**धर्मविवृति**—Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 245 b.

**धर्मशास्त्रसार**—‘चान्द्रयणानि कृच्छाणि महासांतपनानि च।’ Ms. No. 791, fol. 42 b.

**धर्मसार**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 149 a. ‘ऐश्वर्यालोभमोहाहा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः।’

**धर्मसारसुधानिधि**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 43 b.

**धौम्य**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 154 b.

**नन्दपुराण**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 257 a.

**नरपतिजयचर्या**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 102 a; or स्वरोदय, composed at अणहिलपट्टन in 1176 by नरपति. C. C. I. 277 a.

**नारद**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 115 b.

**नारायण**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 220 a. commented on आश्वलायनगृह्णसत्र.

**निगमपारीशिष्ट**—Ms. No. 791, 37 a. It is also quoted in मण्डपकुण्ड-मण्डन, composed for विश्वमध्ये पण्डित by नृहरि or नरहरि भट्ट दैवज्ञ, surnamed सप्तपि.

**निधं**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 55 b.

**निबन्धसार**—‘दर्शे पातेक्संकान्तवुपाकर्मण्युपस्थृते।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 140 b.

**नृसिंह**—‘प्रशस्ता चंद्रहोरा तु यात्रायां च विशेषतः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 339 a.

**नृसिंहपुराण**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 33 a.

**पञ्चरात्र**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 29 a.

**पद्मपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 8 b.

**परिज्ञातकार**—‘यदुदेशेन परिकल्पितं हविस्ततुदेशेन त्यागे कृते तत्संबन्धनिवृत्ते-न्याय्यत्वात्।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 222 b.

**पराशार**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 a.

**पिंगलामत**—Quoted by हेमाद्रि. Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 32 b.

**पितामह**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 42 b.

**पितामहसंहिता**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 157 p. Perhaps identical with ज्योतिषितामह quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**पुराणसंग्रह—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 127 a. Quoted in रामनाममाहत्म्य of अच्युताश्रम.

**पुराणसमुच्चय—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 105 b.

**पुराणसार—**Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 44 a.

**पुलस्त्य—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 36 b.

**पृथिवीमल—**Son<sup>2</sup> of मदनपाल and elder brother of मानधारु. Ms. No. 780 (ii) quotes from पृथिवीमल's शिशुरक्षारत्न or बालचिकित्सा ( I. O. Ms. No. 2720 ) extensively ; foll. 69 a to 84 b.

**पैठीनसि—**Ms. No. 791, fol. 31 b.

**पौलश or पौलस्त्यसिद्धान्त—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), foll. 135 b, 137b. A work on ज्योतिष, quoted by वराहमिहिर. It is in अनुष्टुप्.

**प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह—**Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 32 b.

**प्रपञ्चसार—**Ms. No. 788, fol. 49 a.

**प्रथोगगारिजात—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 193 a.

**प्रश्नपाद्वारात्र—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 44 b ; gives शुक्रमहेश्वरसंवाद.

**प्रह्लादसंहिता—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 179 b. Quoted also in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मणभट्ट, who flourished 1580–1640 A.D.

**फलप्रदीप—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 295 a.

**वादरायण—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 361 ; वादरायणजातक on fol. 87 b.  
Quoted by भट्टोत्पल in his Com. on वृहज्ञातक.

**बालरक्षिका—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 112 a. See करुणप्राणनाथ.

**बृहज्ञातक—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 87 a. By वराहमिहिर.

**बृहती (?)—‘एकभक्तेन नक्तेन बालवृद्धातुरः क्षिपेत्।’ Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 113a.  
बृहत्कालनिर्णय (?)—‘तिथ्यद्वे प्रथमे पूर्वे द्वितीये द्वे तथोत्तरः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 138 b.**

**बृहप्रचेतस्—**Ms. No. 790, fol. 43 b.

**बृहद्रसिद्ध—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 109 b.

**बृहज्ञारद—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 109 b.

**बौद्धायन—**Ms. No. 791 ; mentioned at several places.

**ब्रह्मपुराण—**Ms. No. 791, fol. 35 b.

**ब्रह्मायामल—**Ms. No. 785, fol. 24 b.

**ब्रह्मर्पिंसंहिता (?)—**पितरं हं (अं)ति मूलांया पादेन्यत्र च मातरम्!—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 104 a. C. C. III, 81 b, mentions that it is quoted in Lz. 1067.

**ब्रह्मैवर्त—**Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 b.

**ब्रह्मशंसु—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 361 a. An astronomer, quoted in रत्नमाला by श्रीपति. Earlier than 1263 A.D.

**ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 139 a. Composed by ब्रह्मगुप्त in 628 A.D.

**भरद्वाजस्मृति**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 15 b.

**भरद्वाजीय**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 137 a.

**भविष्यपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 a.

**भास्कर**—‘सप्तम्यचन्द्रानवमीषु देहश्रीसंततिरामलकैररस ।’ Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 10 a. He is perhaps identical with लौगाक्षिभास्कर, author of तिथ्यादितत्वनिर्णय, which, therefore, must be earlier than 1550 A.D.

**भास्करव्यवहार**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 298 a. According to भारतीय-ज्योतिःशास्त्र (p. 253), probably by भास्कराचार्य, born in 1114 A.D.

**भीमपराकम**—‘एकग्रामे चतुःशाले दुर्भिक्षे राष्ट्रविषुवे। स्वामिना नियमान्नार्याः प्रतिशुक्रं न विद्यते ॥’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 133 b. Quoted by पद्मनाभ in his व्यवहारप्रदीप, born after 1064 A.D.

**भूपालवलभ**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 294 b. Quoted also in नावप्रदीप-टीका by गणेशदैवज्ञ of 1528 A.D. By परशुराम.

**भृगु**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 a.

**भृगुसंहिता**—‘दक्षिणाद्विरनिष्ट्रेत् गार्हपत्यात् प्रणयनम् ।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 89 a. Appears to be a स्मृति (perhaps भृगुस्मृति), and not the astrological work of that name.

**मस्त्यपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 8 a.

**मदनपारिजातक**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 157 a.

**मदालसा**—‘तद्वाचमनार्थाय द्याच्चापः सकृत् सकृत् ।’ Ms. No. 789, fol. 86 b. “Quoted by सायण Oxf. 270 b, by कमलाकर Oxf. 279 a.” C. C. I., p. 426 a.

**मनु**—Quoted extensively.

**मन्त्ररहस्य**—‘आयुःकामः प्रजाकामः स्वर्गकामो जितेन्द्रियः ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 141 a.

**मन्त्रथेषुक्तावली**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), several times.

**मयदीपिका**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 47 b. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**मयसंप्रह**—Ms. No. 785, fol. 8 b. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**मरीचि**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 37 b.

**महाभारत**—Quoted several times.

**माठर (?)**—‘लम्बे चंद्रबलं बीजम्’ etc. Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 323 a.

**माण्डव्यसंहिता**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 91 a. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**माधवीय**—Ms. No. 791, 31 b. Quoted several times.

**मानसोलास**—Ms. No. 781, fol. 2 a.

**माहेन्द्रपद्मति (?)—‘ चतुःषट्पदश्च स्थातुरं माहेन्द्रपद्मतौ । ’**—Ms. No. 780 (ii),

fol. 375 a. The work is on architecture ; it may be a part of **माहेन्द्रसंहिता**, a work on तन्त्र quoted in I. O. Cat. on i, 848 b.

**मार्कण्डेयपुराण—Ms. No. 790, fol. 24 b.**

**मुहूर्तसंग्रह—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 150 a.** Quoted by गणेशदैवज्ञ in his Com. on नावप्रदीप of about 1528 A.D. Earlier than 1528 A.D.

**मोहचूडोत्तरशास्त्र—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 23 a.**

**मौञ्जीपटल—‘ जन्मभादृष्टे सिंहे नीचे वा शत्रुमे गुरोः । ’** Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol.

142 b. Quoted in विवाहपटल of पीताम्बर, written in 1524 A.D.

**मौलुगिर्कमिविपाक—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 118 a.** Earlier than 1380 A.D.

**यज्ञकाण्ड (?)—‘ स्थालीपाके भवेत्कुण्डं यज्ञमात्रावरं वरम् । ’** Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 12 a.

**यम—Ms. No. 791, fol. 8 b.**

**यमदीपिका (?)—‘ सिंहास्त्रांविका व्यक्षा भूषणादप्णोद्ध्रहा । ’** Ms. No. 785, fol. 4 b.

**यवनजातक—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 89 b.**

**याज्ञवल्क्य—Ms. No. 791, fol. 5 b.**

**योगजातक—‘ जीवे लभे शुभे केवदे निधने प्रहवजिते । ’** Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 90 b. By यामुनाचार्य, C. C. III, 102 b. The Bhandarkar Institute Library has a Ms. of this work ; No. 505 of 1892-95.

**योगयात्रा—‘ एकोऽपि जीवार्कुजार्कजानां स्वोचैर्विलभे स्वगृहे यदिदुः । ’ etc. By वराहमिहिर.**

**योग(गि)याज्ञवल्क्य—Ms. No. 783, fol. 7 a.**

**रत्नकोश—Ms. No. 781, No. 21 a.**

**रत्नप्रकाश—‘ आद्यपितुः मूलाश्रिष्ट पौष्णद्वयुजंगमेषु चात्यभवः । ’** Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 108 a. Quoted also is मार्तण्डवलभा, नारायण's Com. on his own मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड of about 1571 A.D. Earlier than 1550 A.D.

**रत्नमाला—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 2 a.**

**रत्नमालाकोश (?)—‘ उत्पातदोषदुष्टं शुभकर्मसु योजयेन् ( न ) तावद्भम् । ’** Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 299 a. Appears to be the name of some Com. on श्रीपति's रत्नमाला.

**रत्नावली—Ms. No. 791, fol. 29 b.** Mentioned in हेमाद्रि.

**राजमार्तण्ड—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 108 a.**

**राजशेखर—**The verse अभ्युथानसुपागते etc. (बालरामायण 4. 43) is quoted in Ms. No. 783, on fol. 268 b.

**राम—‘ सामशब्देनर्यजुषी मास्तेचातिवायति ’ quoted on मतु's—‘ सामधना क्रग्यजुषी नाधीयत कदाचन । ’ in Ms. No. 783, on fol. 108 b.**

**रामार्चनचन्द्रिका—Ms. No. 783, fol. 173 b.**

रुद्रकल्पलता (?)—‘ उक्तवद्वा शिवे कृत्वा आवल्संख्याप्रदक्षिणाः । ’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 193 a.

रुद्रयामल—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 104 a.

रेणुककारिका—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 343 a.

लक्षणसंग्रह—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 36 b.

लघुजातक—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 87 a.

लक्षणीयरीय—‘ तुलसीशतपत्रं च भृंगराजं च चंपकम् । ’ Ms. No. 789, fol. 66 b.

लङ्घ—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 2 a. Astronomer of about 638 A.D.

लङ्घलेय (?)—‘ हस्तमध्ये ब्रह्मतीर्थं दक्षिणाग्रहेण तु । ’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 15a.

लिङ्गपुराण—Ms. No. 791, fol. 38 a.

लिङ्गाभट—‘ मनसा विवाहं प्रति गुरते प्रत्युद्गच्छतीति गौरी । ’—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 260 a. Wrote Com. on अमरकोषः

लीलावती—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 363 b.

लुभ्यजातक (?)—अथोत्पन्नस्य बालस्य मासवृद्धया वृद्धिविधानानि । ‘ मासि पूर्णे यदा जाते जननाहाच्छिशोस्तदा । ’ etc. Ms. No. 784, fol. 82 b. The only reference to this work is found in C. C. I. 546 a, where we read—लुभ्यजातके वर्षवर्धाणविधानम्—Ben. 139.

लोगाक्षि—Ms. No. 783, fol. 222 a. See भास्कर above.

वस्स—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 148 a.

वराहपुराण—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 b.

वराहजातक (?)—‘ पुंसां जन्मफलं यत्तु घटयति वनिता सुपतिषु तासाम् । ’—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 93 b. Is it identical with जातककलानिधि ascribed to वराहमिहिर?

वराहमिहिर—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 62 b.

वसन्तराज Ms. No. 784, fol. 85 b.

वसिष्ठ author of धर्मसूत्र. Ms. No. 791, fol. 7 b.

वसिष्ठसिद्धान्त—‘ चैत्रादर्वाङ्नाधिमासः परमत्वोधिको (?) भवेत् । ’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 136 b. Astronomical work of the 5th century A. D.

वामभट—Ms. No. 783, fol. 277 b.

वात्स्यायन—Ms. No. 783, fol. 277 b.

वामनपुराण—Ms. No. 791, fol. 25 b.

वायुपुराण—Ms. No. 791, fol. 36 a.

वास्तुतन्त्र (?)—‘ यवोदरैरष्टमिरंगुलं स्याद्यदी करांगुष्टकवृत्तस्वर्णे । ’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 363 b.

वास्तुप्रदीप—‘ खेटकर्पटकोष्टेषु वृषः सिंहो गजः शुभः । ’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 361 b. Earlier than 1550 A.D.

**वास्तुशास्त्र**—‘द्वारं चतुर्विंधं प्रोक्तं संक्रान्तिवै क्रतुभाजनम्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 364 b.

**विचारिदेव (?)**—A writer on the rituals of होम, also called देवीक-चक्रवर्ती। Ms. No. 788, fol. 47 b.

**विद्वज्ञनवलभ**—‘संप्रेर्यमाणो हृषवशः शरीरी प्रसव्य दैवेन शुभाशुभेन।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 319 a. By भोज ?

**विधानमाला**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 106 a—108 a. Quoted in other काण्ड also.

**विधिरत्न**—कन्याकुम्भकुलीरगे दिनकरे कुर्यात् पाणिग्रहम्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 275 a. Quoted by गणेशदैवज्ञ in his com, on नावप्रदीप.

**विवस्वत्**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 14 b.

**विश्वकर्मन्**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 20 a.

**विश्वभर( वास्तु )शास्त्र**—Ms. No. 780 (ii) fol. 365 a. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

**विश्वरूपनिबन्ध**—Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 216 a.

**विश्वरूपनिर्णय (?)**—‘दिवा चद्रग्रह राशी( त्रौ ? ) सूर्यपर्वे न पुण्यदम्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 138 b.

**विश्वरूपग्रपीठ (?)**—‘यद्यपि रजोदोषो निराकृतस्तथापि रजःसमये निषिद्धाचरण निमित्तविकृत्याद्युत्पत्तिस्तु आपस्तंबीयविश्वरूपग्रपीठप्रोक्त्यादेन संभवति।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 101 b.

**विश्वामरदान (?)**—‘विश्वदेवलक्षणं विश्वामरदाने वक्षति’ Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 47 a.

**विश्वामित्र**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 4 a.

**विष्णुगुरुस**—Ms. No. 158 (i) b, fol. 31 a.

**विष्णुधर्मोत्तर**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 6 a.

**विष्णुपुराण**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 7 b.

**विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 44 a.

**विष्णुरहस्य**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 102 a.

**बृत्तशत**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 138 b.

**बृत्तिकार**—Ms. No. 783, fol. 91 a. It is perhaps नारायण who wrote a com. on आश्वलायनगृहसूत्र.

**बृद्धगर्ग**—Ms. No. 791, fol. 38 a.

**बृद्धगार्थ**—Ms. No. 789, fol. 24 a.

**बृद्धबृहस्पति**—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 148 a.

**बृद्धमनु**—Ms. No. 782, fol. 14 a.

**बृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य**—Ms. No. 782, fol. 3 b.

**बृद्धयोगिन्**—Same as above ? Ms. No. 789, fol. 66 b.

**बृद्धवसिष्ठ**—Ms. No. 190, fol. 27 a.

**बृद्धवारभट**—सप्त वा पञ्च वा तिस्रो यो न वैत्तीह संहिताः। राजा तस्य कुवैद्यस्य छेत्तच्यो दक्षिणः करः॥’ Ms. No. 791, fol. 46 b.

बृहदाङ्गिरस—‘मासग्रयषप्मासाब्दादिविच्छेदे अर्धकृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रप्रायश्चित्तम्।

Ms. No. 783, fol. 88 b.

वैजवाप ( Read वैजवाप )—Ms. No. 782, fol. 14 b.

वैद्यनाथ—‘वैद्यमार्यतयो रंगोरन्योर्ण्यं द्वितीययोः ।’, Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 297 a ff; mentioned in पीताम्बर s विवाहपटल. वैद्यनाथ himself wrote a विवाहपटल.

व्यवहारसार—‘शिलान्यासः प्रकर्तव्यो गृहाणां श्रवणे सृगे।’ quoted in नारायण’s मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड of 1571 A.D. Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 305 a.

व्याघ्रपाद—Ms. No. 783, fol. 34 a.

व्याधिनाटि (?)—‘रचिते नूतने दुर्गे परिखामुहूर्ताकृते ।’ Ms. No. 781, fol. 2 a.

शंखलिखितौ—Ms. No. 791, fol. 7 a.

शतपथ—Ms. No. 791, fol. 37 a.

शाकल्यसंहिता—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 295 a.

शाक्यायन—Ms. No. 791, fol. 36 a.

शातातप—Ms. No. 791, fol. 8 b.

शान्तिपटल—Ms. No. 780 (ii). Mentioned by गणेश देवज्ञ in his Com. नावप्रदीप on his father’s (केशव’s) मुहूर्ततत्त्व. The Com. was written about 1530 A.D.

शारंग(शार्ङ्ग)फलग्रन्थ—Ms. No. 78 (ii), fol. 138 a. ‘चंद्राक्योस्तु विवैक्यं प्रतिपद्धरसनिधिषु ।’

शार्ङ्ग or शार्ङ्गभर—author of शार्ङ्गभरसंहिता—Ms. No. 785, fol. 30 b. Quoted by गणेशदेवज्ञ in his Com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व. ( 1528 A. D. ).

शालिहोत्र—Ms. No. 780 (i), 376 a. Quoted by हेमाद्रि..

शिल्पदर्पण—‘इति भोज न कृत शिल्पदर्पणोक्तं प्रासादकलशान्यासविधानम्।’ ascribed to भोज; Ms. No. 785, fol. 26 a.

शिल्पशास्त्र—‘वस्त्रे धर्मशालायां कुण्डे संभे ध्वजे ध्वजः ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 361 b.

शिवज्ञानरहस्य (?)—‘न धारयेदधोवस्त्रे धृत्वावामेन कः पुनः ? ।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 100 b.

शिवधर्म or शिवधर्मशास्त्र—Ms. No. 791, fol. 50 a. A part of नन्दिकेश्वरसंहिता.

शिवरहस्य—Ms. No. 783, fol. 101 a. From the शांकरसंहिता in the स्कन्दपुराण.

शौनक—Ms. No. 783, fol. 16 b.

शौनकीयसूत्र—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 110 a. Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

शौनकोपस्मृति (?)—‘इदानीं संप्रवक्ष्याभि पुत्रसंग्रहमुत्तमम्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii) fol. 122 b.

**श्राव्यरत्नावली—**(?) ‘पितुरुद्दमशौचं स्यात् षष्मासान् मातुरेव च । मासमात्रं तु  
भार्यायास्तदर्थं भ्रातृपुत्रयोः ॥ महातीर्थस्य गमनमुपवासव्रतानि च । संवत्सरं न  
कुर्वीत महागुरुनिषातने ॥’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 156 a.

**श्रीधरर्णव—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 99 b.

**श्रीपति—**‘रुद्रहिमित्रपितरौ वसुवारिविश्वे’ etc. Ms. No. 783, fol. 3 a.

**पट्टिविज्ञानमत—**Ms. No. 790, fol. 17 b.

**षड्विज्ञानमत—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 222 a.

**संहितासार—**Quoted in Ms. No. 780 (ii), foll. 103 b—106 a ; 290 a—  
300 b. The work is on astronomy by कृष्ण or कृष्णार्थं written  
for शिवराज. It is quoted also in पीतांबर’s विवाहपट्टल (1524 A.D.)  
There is only one Ms. of this work, and it is in the  
library of the Bhandarkar Institute—No. 876 of 1184-87.  
**संहितासारावली—**‘एकमाह (?) प्रसूताना एकस्मिन् वर्षसे यदि । विवाहं नैव  
कुर्वीत कुर्वन्ति मुनयोऽन्यथा ॥’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 260 b. This  
work is quoted by नारायण in his Com. on मुहूर्तमात्रण्ड (1571 )  
A. D.

**संवर्त—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 14 b.

**संक्षिप्तजातक (?)—**‘मित्रोच्चस्वगृहांशोपगतानां शोभना दशा ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
91 b.

**संग्रह or स्मृतिसंग्रह—**Ms. No. 791, fol. 31 b.

**सत्यप्रत—**Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 11 a.

**सप्तपिंडीर्थम् (?)—**‘अवगाह्य जले मझो वस्त्रं यः परिशोधयेत् ।’ Ms. No. 783, fol.  
34 a.

**सप्तपिंडमत—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 275 b ; earlier than 1550 A. D. .

**सर्वशकुन (?)—**Long quotations from this work in Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 349 a—सर्वशाकुने मिश्रकाध्यायः । ; fol. 350 a—सर्वशाकुनेतरचक्रं  
द्वितीयम् । . fol. 352 a. विस्ताध्यायः । ; fol. 355 a. सर्वशाकुने  
मूरगचक्राध्यायद्वितीयेष्टाध्यायः । fol. 358 a इति काकशकुनः ।

**सहदेव (?)—**‘मूर्खां वक्तां तथा बाहू द्वामी च कटिद्रूयम् ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
fol. 104 a.

**सहदेवमत (?)—**‘दत्त्वा द्युवारं पूर्वस्यां ततः संहारमार्गतः ।’ Ms. No. 781,  
fol. 10 a.

**सायणीय—**Ms. No. 783, fol. 22 a.

**सारग्राह—**Ms. No. 158 (i) c, fol. 316 b:

**सारावली—**‘क्षीणतारीरथन्द्रो लग्नस्यः कर्तर(?)वीक्षितः ।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii),  
88 b. See भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, pp. 486-7.

**सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि—**Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 137 a. By भास्कराचार्य. Com-  
posed in 1150 A.D.

सिद्धार्थसंहिता—Quoted by हेमाद्रि.

सुधानिधि (?)—‘उत्तमा तारकोपेता मध्यमा लुप्ततारका।’, Ms. No. 783, fol. 47 b. We cannot identify it with धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of दिवाकर composed in 1686 A.D., as this date conflicts with that of परशुरामप्रताप.

सुमन्तु—Ms. No. 791, fol. 11 a.

सूतसंहिता—Ms. No. 791, fol. 19 a.

सूत्र—आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र. often quoted.

सूर्यसिद्धान्त—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 108 a.

सूर्योदयनिबन्ध—Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 139 b.

सेवासूर्योदय (?)—‘नाड्याच्च (नाड्याच्च ?) तुच्छीन् प्राप्यमान् विन्दुग्रहणयामत्रोः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 139 b.

स्कन्दपुराण—Ms. No. 791; fol. 5 a.

स्कन्दरहस्य (?) ‘वाह्याणान् केशवं चैव कीर्तयन्नावसीदति।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 9 b.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका—‘यथा हि वेदाध्ययनं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं तथा।’ Ms. No. 791, fol. 42 b.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणि—Ms. No. 789, fol. 49 b.

स्मृतिर्दीपिका—Ms. No. 789, fol. 52 b. Earlier than 1550 A.D.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका—Ms. No. 783, fol. 32 b.

स्मृतिभास्कर—‘वनस्पतिगते सोमे भस्मोद्भूलितविग्रहः।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 43 b.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी—‘तस्मादुदक्षया सार्वमेकगेहे न संवर्तेत्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 61 a.

स्मृतिमहार्णव—Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 270 b.

स्मृतिरत्न—Ms. No. 780 (i), fol. 58 a.

स्मृतिरत्नमञ्जूषा (?) ‘पापरोगैविषुव्याधौद्विष्मिः शृणिभिर्विष्यैः। अपमृत्युमृतनानां च सदा शस्ता चतुर्दशी ॥’ Ms. No. 780, (i), fol. 336 a.

स्मृतिरत्नावली—‘स्मृतिं विना न हि ज्ञानं (नर)स्य भवति क्वचित्॥’ Ms. No. 791, fol. 43 a.

स्मृतिसंग्रह—Ms. No. 791, fol. 24 b.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय—Ms. No. 783, fol. 46 a.

स्मृतिसार—‘पञ्चांगुलिभिन्नोसाग्रीषीडनं प्रणवामिधा।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 7 a.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह—‘अथ मंडपकुण्डादिसावनं यज्ञमिद्ये।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 25 b.

स्मृत्यार्णव (?)—‘अघमर्णगृह्यस्य ऋषिरेवावभवेणः।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 34 a.

स्मृत्यर्थसार—‘कराग्ने करपृष्ठे च बहिर्विष्टविशुद्धये।’ Ms. No. 783, fol. 14 a.

हरि(र)मेखला—Ms. No. 781, fol. 33 a.

हारीत—Ms. No. 791, fol. 30 b.

हेमाद्रि—Ms. No. 783, fol. 26 a.

होराप्रकाश—‘रिष्टहति (?) त्रिकोणस्याः शुक्लेजाः परस्परम्।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 90 a. होराप्रकाश is quoted on fol. 23 b of I. O. Ms. 303 b of विवाहपटल by शार्ङ्गपाणि द्विज, son of मुकुन्द. The date of the Ms. is 1597 A. D. So, this work must belong to about 1500 A. D., as it is quoted in परशुरामप्रताप also.

होराप्रदीप—‘ग्रस्ते विधौ सपापे लभ्ने रंधे कुजे प्रजातस्य !’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 89 a. It is also quoted in होरास्कंधनिरूपण by विश्वनाथ पंडित, son of राम, enjoying the patronage of king वीरसिंह in 1578 A.D.

होरामकरन्द—‘यदन्यजन्मन्यशुभं शुभं वा’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 87 a. Quoted by नंदिग्रामस्य केशव ( 1496 A.D. ) in his जातकपद्धतिटीका.

होरासार—‘नीचस्थितो जन्मनि यो ग्रहः स्यात्तदाशिनाथश्च तदुच्चनाथः।’ Ms. No. 780 (ii), fol. 94 b. Quoted in प्रथोगपारिजात of नरसिंह ( I. O. Ms. 1396 ), शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द ( I. O. Ms. 1744 ) and I. O. Ms. 6401.

## THE PANCA-JANAS

( R. Shamshastri )

The phrase “Panca-janas” like Pancakṛṣṭis and Pancakṣitīs is frequently met with in the Vedas. Sāyana interprets them sometimes as the “Four Castes with Niṣāda as the fifth Caste.” In other places he takes them to mean Devas, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Asuras and Rākṣasas and sometimes as Devas, men, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Serpents and Fathers, and supports his last statement by quoting the Aitareya Br. III, 31. In R. V. X 60, 4 the Panca-janas are stated to be in the sky and the epithet “Yajaniyas”, meaning worthy of being worshipped, is applied to them. Griffith takes them deified counterparts of the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic period divided into five tribes called “Yadu, Puru, Anu, Druhyu and Turvasu”. Strange and surprising though it may appear, I take them to be the five minor planets. As will be seen, the way in which they are described both in the Vedas and the Purāṇas and Epics points to the same conclusion. It is very well known to students of Indian history that the Yādava and Vijayanagara and Mysore kings trace their genealogy to Yadu, the son of Āyu, the son of Budha, Mercury, the son of the moon. The fundamental principle of Indian culture is to hold Ardhanārīśvara, half man and half wife, as the ideal of conjugal life, and to regard father and son as identical (Ātma vai putranāmāsi). Hence it follows that Yadu, the grandson of Budha, is Budha, Mercury himself. Since Budha is always in company with Venus, in twin-relation, it follows that Puru is Venus. R. V. I. 83, 5 says that the lovable Vena is born; Kāvya Uśanā brought back the cows with him. It is very well known that in the whole of Sanskrit literature Kāvya, Kavi and Uśanā mean Venus. It is an accepted principle that words in the Vedas and later Sanskrit literature mean the same thing, though they may differ in form grammatical. Hence I do not see the reason why Kāvya, Kavi and Uśana used in the sense of Venus in later Sanskrit literature should not be taken in the same sense in the Vedas. The statement that Kāvya brought back his cows in the verse referred to above means that he has reappeared in his former glory which he lost for sometime during his Asta-period

by the son. Uśanā's fashioning Vajra weapon for Indra (R. V. I, 51. 10-11 ; and I, 121, 12) means that Venus appearing in a solar eclipse is a prelude to Indra's or son's victory over the eclipse demon. The welcome praise of Kāvya by the Aśvins (R. V. I, 117, 12) means the appearance of only Venus leaving his friend Mercury. The coming together of Kāvya, Indra and the Devas, (R. V. V 29, 9 ; 31, 8) means the arrival of Venus, Serius and other planets together. Indra in the Veda sometimes means Sunāśīra, the dog-star Serius. Or taking the word "together" successively we may take Indra to mean the son in the verse. Kāvya's establishing the Hotar Agni in the sky in R. V. VIII, 23, 17 means the appearance of Mars near Venus in the sky. In R. V. IV 16, 2 the priest is called to praise Indra as Uśanas does. Here the arrival of Uśanas in front of the sun is compared to the arrival of a herald proclaiming the arrival of his master behind. The planets' appearance first in the east in the morning or late in the west after sun-set is often compared to a band of Vedic reciters marching in front of or behind a festive procession of gods or men. Accordingly R. V. I. 130, 9 says that "born from night the Asura has thrown up the sun's wheel and stolen the word ( *vācam muṣāyati* ): O Uśanas, Kavi, thou hast come from far to protect us." What is meant here is that after a long absence Venus came out of the sun's chariot and began to sing of the sun's arrival as a herald. Likewise Bṛhaspati, Jupiter, is called the best of the poets (Kavih kavīnām—11, 2, 31) Pṛthavēna or Vena in R. V. V, 93, 14 is Venus ; Rāma is the sun ; 500 horses mean the cycle of 7000 days, since two halves of a lunar month are called the sun's two horses ( See my Eclipse-cult. ); Varuṇa with his ropes and his golden helmet ( Ayomayadrūṇa ) is Saturn with his rings. (R-V. I, 24, 14; 11, 27, 10; 28, 7: V111, 42, 1; X, 132, 4)—In R. V. X 53, 4, Agni, Mars, says "This prelude of my speech I will now utter, whereby we, the gods, may quell our Asura foemen." This means that Mars appeared first in an eclipse. It may be taken for granted that wherever Indra is mentioned as striking Śambara or any other Asura, or as drinking Soma-juice, or wherever Asuras, Gandharvas, or Rākṣas are mentioned as enemies of sacrificing priests, a solar or lunar eclipse, or the occultation of a planet is the theme under the consideration of the poets. In verse 24 of R. V. X. 87 the

poet's request of Agni to burn the Yātudhānās, the twin Kimidina is a prayer addressed to Mars to hasten the clearance of a lunar eclipse as implied by the expression "milk of the milch cow" in verse 18. Indra's slaying Vṛṣabha, the chief of the Śāndikas in 11, 30, 8 is a reference to a solar eclipse. Professors Roth and Ludwig have been right in regarding R. V. X. 27, 30 as a reference to something like a solar eclipse. There Sukra and Marka are said to have come between the sun and the poet. In X 123, 1 Vena is undoubtedly Venus, as his appearance after sun-set (*Sūryasya apām sāṅgama*) is extolled.

Now I am going to show that Sāyana's interpretation of the Vedic Panchajanas sometimes as Yadus and others, sometimes as five castes and sometimes as Rākshasas, Gandharvas and others is right. I have already stated that Yadus and other tribes are the followers of Mercury and other minor planets. Likewise the Sun, Venus, and Jupiter are Brāhmans, the moon is Raja, a Kshatriya, Mercury is a Sūdra, and Saturn is a Nishāda, a hunter, as stated in all astrological works. A planet occulting another planet is called a Brahmarakshas, or an Asura, or a Gandharva or an Apsaras. In support of these statements there are a number of stories in the Epic and Purāṇas. I shall endeavour to show how those stories prove the above statements and thereby help us to interpret the Vedas to the satisfaction of scholars. I quote the stories from the "Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology" of late Nārāyaṇa Iyangar of Mysore. He was a very profound Sanskr̥t scholar and collected a number of Purāṇic stories connected with Vedic gods. Regarding the interpretation of Vedic and Purāṇic myths the learned author says on P. X. of his Introduction : "Pondering over many Vedic and Purāṇic stories, I came to entertain the idea that our ancient poets had systematically metamorphosed the heavenly objects as human beings, extraordinary Rishis, demi-gods, gods, and goddesses and had so read the phenomena connected with them — each poet in his own way — as to yield or to illustrate moral and religious lessons, the advantage of dealing with the heavenly bodies being that the element of the marvellous and superhuman could be introduced with full poetical license. "Whatever may be the worth of his explanations of Vedic and Purāṇic myths, there is

no doubt that by his collection of many stories relating to Vedic gods he has rendered valuable service for the cause of Vedic interpretation, and I am highly thankful to him for it.

Now taking the story of Ilvala and Vātapi (Maha. Aran. 96-99) I shall show how it is an attempt to explain the sudden rise of any of the minor planets as an evening star after sun-set. The story is as follows :—

"Agastya, Canopus, was very fond of Tapas and did not think of marrying. One day he saw his forefathers hanging down, holding the slender roots of shrubs on the brink of an abyss. They told him that they would soon fall down into the abyss unless he married and became a father. Not finding a woman suitable to him, he extracted what was good in everything and created with it a beautiful woman and caused her to be born as the daughter of Satyavati, the wife of the king of Vidarbha. She was named Lopāmudrā. When she came of age, Agastya asked the king to marry her to him. The king did not quite approve of him on account of his fondness for asceticism. But being afraid of the consequence of his displeasure, he gave her away. Agastya was too poor to clothe and ornament her in regal style. He, therefore, set out as a mendicant to earn wealth, and went successively to three kings, Śrutarvān, Bradhnāśva, and Trasadasyu, son of Purkutsa, and asked them to give him as much as they could without injuring others ; but finding that their receipts and disbursements were equally balanced and that by taking gifts from them people would be injured, he went with them to Ilvala, a rich Dānava king of the town of Maṇimati. This king, however, was an enemy of the Brāhmaṇas and was killing them in a strange manner. He had asked a Brāhmaṇa to enable him to have a son like Indra ; but as the Brāhmaṇa refused to do so, he began to hate Brāhmaṇas. He used to invite Brāhmaṇas for dinner in which he served the flesh of his brother Vātapi, disguised as a goat. After the dinner was over, he used to call his brother to come out. Hearing this Vātapi used to come out bleating like a goat and bursting open the bellies of the Brāhmaṇas and thereby causing their death. Many a Brāhmaṇa had thus been killed. He treated Agastya in the same way when he came to the Asura with the three kings.

Agastya ate the food and said "How can Vātāpi come out? He has been digested in my belly", in reply to Ilvala's call to Vātāpi to come out. Thus Ilvala, the Daitya king, was outwitted. Being however pleased with the sage, he gave immense wealth to the three kings and thrice as much and a golden chariot to Agastya. Returning home the sage gave the wealth to his wife and lived with her for sometime. On the birth of a son he went again to the forest to continue his penance."

Here Ilvala and Vātāpi are Mercury and Venus. Ilvala is a compound made up of Ilā (earth) and Vala, (an Asura concealing wealth or light), in other words, Dirghatamas of the earth, Mercury. So long as the sun shines. Vātāpi, Venus, is in the belly of the sun ; and after sun-set, he appears as if he had come out bursting open the belly of the sun, the Brahman. The uninjured three kings are Mars, Saturn, and Jupiter. Lopāmudrā is sealed treasure lest she might be Lopa (disappearance). See R. V. I. 165-191, especially 179 where Lopāmudrā occurs).

### THE VEDIC DAŚARĀGNYA FIGHT AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

I have shown in my article entitled "The Indian Epics and the Planets" how the fixity of the hundred stars of the 27 constellations and the peregrinations of the five or seven planets gave rise to the allegorical story of the war between the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāṣṭra and the five sons of Pāṇḍu, the moon. It is very well known to star-gazers at night that though all the five minor planets can occasionally be seen in one or different zodiacal signs, all the 27 constellations can never be seen together at any time. Only as many constellations as mark the upper half of the celestial sphere can be observed, while those of the other half which is below our feet are entirely out of sight. Even in the visible half the constellations of the signs partly below and partly above the east and west horizons can hardly be seen. It follows therefore that only the constellations of about five signs in the upper half can be clearly observed together with the five minor planets, if all of them are visible, as they can be sometimes. At night on a newmoon day or at day time with a total solar eclipse, the appearance of the constellations and the planets far from the eclipse-region will be a grand sight.

Then one or two of the planets may be setting, as if hurled down by those pursuing them from behind; one or two may be near the solar or lunar eclipse region, ready to help the sun or the moon in driving out the eclipse-demon, on newmoon or fullmoon day. The fixed stars of the five signs numbering  $5 \times 2\frac{1}{4} = 11\frac{1}{4}$  may be regarded to be on one side and the planets on the other. Of these eleven asterisms or kings as they are called, ten are full asterisms and the eleventh is the result of the fractional quarter parts of the five signs. So the eleventh may be rightly called Bheda, as he is made up of *bhinna* or broken parts. It is these ten kings allied with or led by Bheda that are described as if fighting with the Bharatas, Purus, and Tritsus, planets, so called, in the Rgveda (VII. 83, 6-8), as we shall presently see. In the Mahâbhârata the same war is described as a battle between eleven Akshohipî men on the side of Duryodhana and seven Akshohipî men on the side of the Pândavas. Aksha means axle or chariot and Uhini means driving. Accordingly Akshohipî Senas means army driving chariots. As the Mahâbhârata war is well-known, the Vedic verses on the Daśarâgnya war are quoted here to show their correspondence to the Epic-war.

Before going to quote the verses, it seems desirable to know the meaning of the most important technical words used in the verses.

(1) Mitra. This word means the moon, since Viśvâmitra, friend of all, signifies in the Vedas, the moon, the Kṣattriya king, or Dvijarâja.

(2) Varuṇa. This word means Saturn, as shown elsewhere.

(3) Dâśa means a servant, either inimical or friendly.

(4) Vṛtra always means an eclipse-demon, one who envelopes or covers.

(5) Arya, a sacrificer, either friendly or inimical.

(6) Sudâsa, servant, Agni, messenger of gods ; hence Mars.

(7) Tritsus, the friends of Sudâs, Mars, are the three nodes upper or lower, in the eclipse-cycle of 1000 days.

(8) Vasu means wealth, splendour, and life. Hence a prayer for wealth, or cattle or food implies the loss of the same in eclipse.

(9) Go-ajanas is equal to go and ajanas. Go meaning a bull implies the moon ; it signifies the sun when it means a cow ; and rays of light when it means calves.—Ajanas are those asterisms which do not move like the planets, but keep their light and post always ; Janas means planets, liable to birth and death.

(10) Sattra means a sacrificial session of 7, 9, or 10 months, at the close of which the priests representing the planets are expected to go to heaven after coming in contact with the aun and to return after a sojourn of one or two months, by which time the sun quits the locality which the planet occupied before going to heaven.

(11) Daṇḍa, a staff, represents the moon approaching the newmoon day. It also signifies a planet or asterism bereft of its brilliant rays of light. A parichhinna-daṇḍa means a staff freed from its leaves and bark and so not as bright as it is with its bark, leaves, and branches.

(12) Paridhi, means a circle, the celestial sphere.

(13) Thousandfold Paridhi means a circle along which a planet takes a thousand days to travel.

(14) Apsarasas means a planet near the asterism P. Āśādhā, sailing on the water like a nymph. The deity of P. Āśādhā is waters.

The following is the translation of only difficult verses of R.V. V11. 83 and V11. 33.—

O Mitra and Varuṇa, recognising your relationship, desiring to recover the cows (rays of light), and armed with Paraśu-weapons (swords like horse-ribs), strike the Dāsas, Vṛtras, and Āryan enemies, and protect Sudāsa. 1

In the battle in which men rush with their flags there is nothing pleasing to any one ; those engaged in the war are only looking to the world of heaven ; wars are always dreadful. 2

O Indra and Varuṇa, the earth is shaken and pressed down as far as its extremities ; the cry of the warriors rises up to the skies · the enemies are falling on me. Extend your protection to me (Vasiṣṭha = Mars.) 3

O Indra and Varuṇa, protect Sudāsa and strike with your weapons Bheda who, though still far away, is rapidly approaching. Accept the prayers of my men ; my leading as the chief priest is a source of good results. 4

O Indra and Varuṇa, the weapons of the enemies are falling on me ; they attack me ; you are the lords of wealth. So protect us in this battle. 5

Both Sudāsa and the Tritsus call upon you, O Indra and Varuṇa, for recovering wealth (of which they are robbed by the eclipse demons and the non-sacrificing asterisms) ; protect Sudāsa and the Tritsus who are now hurt very much. 6

O Indra and Varuṇa, these ten kings have fallen against Sudāsa. They never perform any sacrifice ; Sudāsa is not however put down ; the praise of the priests making offerings have produced good results. The gods responded to our call. 7

O Indra and Varuṇa, give strength to Sudāsa who is now surrounded by the ten kings ; in this battle the priests of Vasiṣṭha's son with their plaits of hair on the right side have offered their tribute of praise and oblations to you. 8

O Indra and Varuṇa, one of you, Indra, strikes Vṛtra in the battle ; the other, Varuṇa (Saturn), supervises the rite ; we call upon you with our praise. Give us happiness. 9

May Indra (the Sun), Varuṇa (Saturn), Mitra (the Moon), and Aryamā (Jupiter) bestow wealth upon us. 10

### R. V. VII. 33

In the same way Sudāsa easily crossed the Sindhu river with the sons of Vasiṣṭha and killed Bheda. In the battle with the ten kings Indra protected Sudāsa. 3

The Vasiṣṭhas (three forms of Mars) who have been thirsty with the Tritsus prayed to Indra for water in their battle with the ten kings. Indra heard of it ; and extended the dominion of the Tritsus (the waters : the asterism P. Aśadhā).

Those Bharats who are neither cows or bulls nor Janas or planets have now become only a few and as thin as staves (bereft of their leaves and branches) and have appeared like a few babies when Vasiṣṭha has become their leading priest. Then the offerings of the Tritsus grew fatty.

Three are the seed-bearers (nodes) in the three worlds ; three are offsprings (eclipses) with latent lights ; three bright ones (solar eclipses in 1000 days) associate with the dawn. The Vasiṣṭhas (nodes) know them well.

The same Vasiṣṭhas with their innate knowledge move along the hidden thousand-fold circle (Paridhi) which is spread like a warp by Yama (Saturn) and which the same Vasiṣṭhas weave with the woof like nymphs (Apsarasas).

Mitra (Moon) and Varuṇa (Saturn) saw thee, O Vasiṣṭha burst out when thou appeared in thy new lightning-like splendour.' It is one of thy births ; thy second birth is the form which Agastya, Canopus, took.

O Vasiṣṭha, son of Mitra and Varuṇa, thou art born out of the mind of Urvaśi, when the gods, Viśvedevas, kept in the pond the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa.

The explanatory verses of the above hymn quoted by Sāyana are :—

"In the sacrificial session undertaken by Mitra and Varuṇa, their seed fell down in the Pot (Kumbha = Aquarius,—the Pot containing Vasativarī water kept in the sacrificial hall corresponds to the sign of Aquarius containing the seed), when they looked at Urvaśi. The very moment there came out two sages called Vasiṣṭha and Agastya (Mars and Canopus). The seed fell in three places : (1) the Pot ; (2) Water ; (3) Earth. That on the Earth gave birth to Vasiṣṭha (Mars, the son of the earth) ; that in the Pot gave rise to Agastya (Canopus); and that in Water became a huge Fish (Piscis) ; Agastya is as long as the rope (used to tie the yoke to the neck of a bull or a horse). On account of his short measure he is called Mānya, measurable ; or the word may signify 'the sage is born in the Pot' ; so he is measured by the Pot ; a grain-measure is also called a Pot (Kumbha). Hence it implies his size. When water was being taken in the Pot, Vasiṣṭha (Mars) went into the Water (P. Āṣāḍhā) from the Pot (Aquarius) and took his seat in the pond of water (Capricorn). The Viśvedevas (Deities of Uttarāṣāḍhā) kept him in the pond or sea (Puṣkara or Samudra = Capricorn)."

The implication is that Mars was at the time in question in Capricorn or precisely in Uttarāṣāḍhā, Agastya, the moon, and Saturn were in Aquarius, and Fish was higher up in Piscis.

I leave to it scholars for consideration and decision whether the above implication is the only meaning of the Vedas or whether in addition to the above meaning the rites performed in right earnest in the sacrificial hall imitating the heavenly phenomena is also the purport of the Vedas or whether wars and battles fought by the invading Aryans with the aboriginal tribes under Bheda and others is all the meaning of the sacred verses, as interpreted by distinguished western scholars.

### AGASTYA AND KING ŚVETA

The story of Agastya and King Śveta is found in the Uttara-kānda of Rāmāyaṇa, Sargas 77-78, and is as follows :—

Once upon a time Agastya spent a night of the hot season in an extensive forest of 100 yojanas all round. It was devoid of man or beast. It contained a beautiful lake having beautiful birds on it. When the morning came he got up and approached the lake. He saw in it a huge corpse which was Ajara, free from decay, and was shining with splendour. As he was wondering what the corpse could be, he saw a celestial being seated in a celestial Vimāna or Vehicle carried by swans. The celestial being wore a garland, and a thousand Apsaras nymphs attended upon him some singing and dancing and some fanning him with fans having golden handles. He got down, ate the flesh of the corpse, drank water from the lake, and prepared to ascend the Vehicle, when Agastya made bold to ask : "Who art thou ? Thou art like a god, and yet eatest abominable food." He replied my father was Sudeva, king of the Vidarbhas. I am his first son named Śveta by his first wife and have a step-brother named Suratha. Having reigned justly for a thousand years, I installed Suratha, and retiring to this forest, performed Tapas for 3000 years and went to Brahma-loka. But even in Svarga hunger and thirst troubled me. I asked Brahmā why I felt hungry and thirsty and what food he would give me. He said : " Eat thy own flesh. Performing the best penance, thou hast nourished thy own body. Devoting thyself entirely to Tapas thou didst not give anything to a Yati who came to you as an Atithi, guest. Therefore satisfy thyself by eating thy own fatten-ed body, which is the best Amṛtarasa, juice of nectar to thee. Thou wilt find release, when Agastya happens to see thee.

"Therefore, O Agastya, I have been eating this my own body for many years and yet it has undergone no diminution." So saying Sveta offered a splendid golden ornament as gift to Agastya, and as soon as the latter accepted it, the corpse of the king disappeared and the king went to Heaven.

Here the lake is the asterism Uttarāśādha, the king is Saturn who defying all occultations, which are regarded as sacrifices performed to please gods, remains in each sign for nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years and sets year after year when Agastya, Canopus, appears in Aquarius. His garland is his ring. As Saturn does not indicate the arrival or departure of any seasons of sowing and harvesting, nor grows any crops of his own, he is said in the story to be an eater of his own body. He is Varuṇa with his Pāśas or ropes or noose to catch birds or beasts. He is therefore a Niṣāda, a hunter, who not devoting himself to agriculture looks for birds and beasts in forests. He is described in the Vedas as sitting idle devoted to his penance (Niṣāda dhṛtavrataḥ). While Saturn is a slow mover, Mercury is a swift wanderer with no steadfast work to occupy him. He sleeps, as it were, over his work, and does not care to know when to work and when to reap the harvest of his labour. Hence he is a Sudra, a weeping Chitraratha for knowledge. The moon is a Kṣatriya always at war and has no regulated work in harmony with seasons of work and harvest. It is only the Sun, Venus, and Jupiter who regulate time and seasons and making necessary sacrifices go to heaven and return in time to resume their work again. They are therefore Brahmans, fountains of learning. The Sun goes to heaven in solar eclipse and Venus and Jupiter go to heaven year after year when the Sun comes close to them in his annual march round the heavens. Mars is Agni, a Brāhmaṇ sometimes and a Kravyāda, eater of raw flesh like a Rāksasa, at other times, as it suits him. The Brahmans are good eaters and good singers, and speakers of truth, law, and order. Hence they are the mouth of the Time-man, (Kālapuruṣa of the Puruṣasūkta hymn.) The Kṣatriyas like the moons are the arms of the same Time-man ; some constellations like Chrīr and others are Vaiśyas, the thighs of Kālapuruṣa, wandering pedlars hoarding wealth of others. The feet of Kālapuruṣa are Śūdras running messengers like Mercury having no goal or aim

of their own. Hence the planets are called the five castes in the Vedas.

The planets in the Vedas and the Purāṇas do not stick to their castes as rigidly as men, their counter-parts on earth, do now. The sun, the Brahman, and the moon, the Kṣatriys king, sometimes play the part of Rākṣasas or cannibals on the occasion of eclipses. They are therefore called Kilātakūlī or Kimidina. In the story of Subandhu's death referred to by Sāyana in his introduction to the commentary of R. V. X. 57–62 the two magicians known as Kilātakūlī are the sun and the moon. In R. V. X. 87 they are called two Yātudhānas called twin Kimidina. In R. V. 1, 25 Varuna, Saturn, is called Niṣāda binding victims in his Pāśa or noose, he is in the Purāṇas called a pious Brāhmaṇa known as Anī-māṇḍavya always in penance, come what may, while Agni, Mars, is called a thief, or homicide.

#### DEATH TO THE INNOCENT AND DIVINE HONOUR TO THE HOMICIDE

While describing the award of death-sentence to the innocent and of divine honours to the homicide in the story of Anī-Māṇḍavya, the Mahābhārata gives a vivid description of the nature of the planets Saturn and Mars. The story is as follows :-

Māṇḍavya was a pious Brāhmaṇa. He was performing penance at the door of his own hermitage in a forest. He was so much absorbed in his penance that he knew not what took place outside and what injury his own body received. While he was thus seated, robbers committed theft in a neighbouring city and were hotly pursued by watchmen. Thus chased they entered the forest and concealed themselves in Māṇḍavya's hut. The watchmen came in and asked Māṇḍavya whether he saw the robbers. But receiving no answer they searched the hut, caught the robbers together with the stolen property, and placed them before the king along with Māṇḍavya whom they took to be a cunning accomplice that pretended to be a sage. The king passed sentence of death on them all and Māṇḍavya was impaled on the iron pin of the gallows and left exposed to rot and wither. But Māṇḍavya did not die. His fellow Brāhmaṇas came in the form of birds and enquired what sin he committed to be thus impaled. He said : "Whom should I find fault with? There is no one who

sinned against me." Many days passed and the watchmen found out that he was still alive. Hearing of this strange thing the king concluded that he must be an innocent sage and ordered the pin to be pulled out from him. But the pin could not be taken out, and when it was forced out, it broke. Part of the pin with the rope remained firmly fixed in Māṇḍavya's neck. Hence he came to be known as "Ani-Māṇḍavya," "Pin-Māṇḍavya".

The Vedic name of one of the five Janas is Anu, as already pointed out. Anu and Ani are two Sanskr̥t words meaning a pin or peg to drive through a wall or wooden post in order to hang something on it. Ani-dvāra in the Arthaśāstra means a door with a bolt fixed to it. Likewise Ani or āni means something like a nail to drive through. In the Ekāgnikānda it is laid down that a boy invested with the sacred string should utter the Vedic words "Brāhmaṇah anīsthah", touching his ears and lips. Haradatta, the commentator explains it by saying "You, the ears and lips, are established on the Ani or pin of Brahman—the Vedas." He seems to mean that the initiated boy should keep his ears and lips firmly attached to the Vedas and nothing else. Accordingly Ani-māṇḍavya means Māṇḍaya hanging from or on a nail, that is, Māṇḍavya hanged by tying one extremity of a rope round his neck and by drawing him up over the pin fixed to a post like a water-pot drawn up from the well through a pulley. The thieves are those that are referred to in R. V. X 4, 6. Therein we are told that "like two thieves who risk their lives and haunt the forest have secured him with their ten ropes." In this verse the two nodes of the nodal year of 343 days, one at the end of the year and another in the middle are compared to two thieves dragging the planet-victim to be eclipsed by ten ropes at the close of additional ten days added to 343 days at the rate of one rope a day. In other words, the victim is dragged by the thief-like nodes to the point of danger on the 354th day terminating with a full moon or a new moon. In the Vedic version the thieves themselves are the murderers of the innocent for his treasure. In the Purāṇic version, however, it is the watchmen that drag the innocent to the gallows and the thieves are the indirect causes of the death of the innocent. The kings are the ten asterisms with Bheda, the eleventh, as already pointed out. Who is the victim Māṇḍavya?

The real losers are either the sun or the moon, that have lost their wealth. The real thieves are the demons at the node or with Agni, Mars. One innocent Māṇḍavya or Anīmāṇḍavya came to be involved in this case. The word "Ani", same as "Anu" points to Saturn, as already pointed out elsewhere. Since Agni is the name given to the nodes in the Vedas, Agni or Mars is the thief and yet he is honoured and innocent Saturn ever engaged in his penance defying even hunger and thirst is hanged and made to lose his wealth or light at the node with the sun or the moon. From the story of Śveta already quoted above, it is clear that Śveta, who is no other than Saturn, always suffered from hunger and thirst, owing to his constant absorption in idle penance and lack of sacrifice in any other direction.

The word "Māṇḍavya" is derived from Maṇḍū, a frog; a name wanting only the affix "Ka" of frog's usual name, Maṇḍūka. Maṇḍūka is synonymous with Bheka or Bhekuri meaning both frog and star, (Bhekastu tārake triṣu,—Nānāṛthakośa). According to the Jayādi-mantra, "Suṣumnah sūryaraśmih, candraṁ gandharvah: tasya nakṣatrānyapsaraso bhekurayo nāma," says that the sun's ray is called suṣumna, good joy ; the moon is the Gandharva, holder of that ray ; to him the stars are the Apsarasas, nymphs, called Bhekuris. This implies that the moon shines with the sun's rays and that the stars namely the constellations are his wives, known by the name Bhekuri or bheka, frog. There is no doubt that the star-like planets are called Maṇḍūkas, frogs, in the Vedas. Accordingly the Maṇḍūkas, to whose croaking is compared the chanting of the Vedas by the Brāhmaṇas at the beginning of the year in the rainy season, the sun being in the asterism of Maghās, in R. V. VII 103, are not the frogs on the banks of lakes or water.wells, but Saturn and other planets. It is they bearing the names "Gomāyu, Ajamāyu Prṣni, and Harita, that are spoken of as bestowing wealth and long life on the Vedic bards and their followers on the occasion of their thousand years' sacrifice, but not at all the puny creatures of lakes and wells. It is a hymn sung by Vasiṣṭha, the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, that morning and evening stars are compared to Brāhmaṇas chanting the Vedas in honour of the

rising or departing sun. There is a story in the Mahābhārata, Aran. 122, that a king called Parikṣit of the solar line married a frog-queen and that she disappeared when the king approached a pond with the queen. When threatened, the frog-king Āyus (Mercury) restored the queen with her three sons called Sala, Dala and Bala. After the king's death Sala began to rule and to go on hunting riding on Vāmadeva's two horses (referred to in R. V. 1V 15). The horses appear to be the two Asvins, Mercury, and Venus, as implied in the last two verses of the same Sūkta. Accordingly Sala, Dala, and Bala must necessarily be Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn. Here the four frogs, Gomāyu, lowing like a cow, Ajamāyu, bleating like a goat, Pr̥ṣṇi, spotted cow, Harita, one of tawny colour, cannot but be four planets. Pr̥ṣṇi is the sun ; Harita seems to be Mars : Gomayu, and Ajamayu seem to be Saturn and Jupiter respectively.

As pointed out above, Saturn, is Varuṇa, a god of truth and upholder of R̥ta, eternal law. He is Niṣāda, a hunter of birds and beasts to alleviate his hunger and thirst, which he brought upon himself by absorbing himself in idle penance, and not quitting his home for so long a period as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years<sup>1</sup> in each sign of the zodiac. He is the son of Chhāyādevī, a Dāsi or servant-woman of Saranyu, the real wife of the sun. The latter, says the legend created her after herself and putting her in her place left the sun. So Saturn is Dāsi-putra, son of a slave-girl.

He is, however, a gamester, Kitava, addicted to gambling with the other planets. The name of the play is Akṣadyūta, which means in its original sense a game with axle, a wooden or iron rod on which the wheels of a wagon turn, that is a chariot-race. Saturn is the slowest of all the planets ; so he must necessarily fail to win the goal in the race with other planets who fly like Sakuni or bird on their way. The four varieties of Akṣadyūta or chariot-race are Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali. When the number of Parvas made by a planet in the race along its orbit in a given time is divisible by four, it is called Kṛta ; if it leaves 3 as remainder, it is Tretā, if there remains 2 as remainder in the division, it is called Dvāpara ; and if there is a remainder 1

1.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Years + 1 intercalary month = Eclipse-cycle of 1000 days with 1 intercalary month.

when the total number of Parvas is divided by four, it is called Kali. ( See my Drapsa for details.) Though Saturn is Yudhiṣṭhira and Dharmarāja, he proved a bad player in Aksadyūta with Śakuni and lost all. Saturn under the name of "Rsi Kavaṣa" laments for his loss in Akṣadyūta in R. V.X 34 and says in verse 13 " Play not with dice; cultivate thy corn-land, enjoy the grain, and deem that wealth sufficient; there are thy cattle, there thy wife, O gambler"; and attempts to appeal to Kuruśravaṇa, the most famous among the Kurus, for restoration of wealth and kingdom. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains a legend about Kavaṣa, which is as follows :—

When once holding a sacrificial session on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the Ṛṣis ( Planets ) expelled Kavaṣa, the son of Ilūṣa, from their Soma-sacrifice, saying " How should the son of a slave-girl ( Dāśīputra ), gamester ( Kitava ), who is no Brāhmaṇa, remain among us and become initiated ? " They turned him out into a desert, saying that he should die by thirst, and not drink of the water of the Sarasvatī. He being vexed by thirst saw the Mantra called Aponaptriyam. It is the 30th Sūkta of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. As soon as he composed it and praised the waters by it, the goddess Sarasvatī surrounded him on all sides and followed him leaving the Ṛṣis. The Ṛṣis said : " Even the gods know him ; let us call him back." " All consented and called him back. Kavaṣa is the author of the five hymns from 30 to 34 of R. V. X. In these hymns the character of Saturn as a Kitava, gamester, a Niṣāda, a hunter of birds and beasts to alle, viate his hunger and thirst, Varuna, upholder of truth and order-Yudhiṣṭhira, bold fighter, is well sketched. I am sure that the plot of the Mahābhārata is based on these hymns.

A FAMILY OF LEARNED AUTHORS ON JYAUTIṢA  
 CORRECTION OF AN ERROR IN  
 AUFRECHT'S C. C.

( Sadashiva L. Katre, M.A., Ujjain. )

The *Tājakasārasudhānidhi* contains the following passages relating to its author and his environments :—

**Beginning :**

कमलकैरवब्रन्धुधरात्मजुधुधाचितपादसरोरुहाः ।  
 भृगुजभानुजभानुविरोधिनो ददतु दन्तिमुखो विमलां गिराम् ॥ १ ॥  
 गिरों कीरहस्तां विपञ्चीविनोदां विनोदात्तमूर्तिं वचोमूर्तिभाजाम् ।  
 विभाव्यां मुनीनां मनोऽभीष्टदां तां कवीनां सुकाव्यस्य गुम्फानुकूलाम् ॥ २ ॥  
 श्रीग्रामोद्घवकश्यपान्वयनिधिः सामुद्रिकज्ञः सुधीः  
 श्रीमान्माधवसंजको द्विजवरो विष्वेशसेवारतः ।  
 दादाभाईति तस्मादजनि गुणगणैः पूरितस्तथवेत्ता  
 सिद्धान्तानां चै कर्ता मुनिजनविदितस्तस्मः कोऽपि नान्यः ॥ ३ ॥  
 तस्माल्लघवरः परोपकृतये नारायणोऽहं ब्रुवे  
 तारीयैकसुधानिधिं गणितविनुष्टयै चमल्कारिकम् ।  
 श्रीमतिखनिधिकरोमकादिरचितात्संगृह्य सारं परं  
 यस्य ज्ञानलबेन मुख्यपदवीं ग्रामोति निःसंशयम् ॥ ४ ॥  
 कथं स्यान्मम वर्षेऽस्मिन्निति संशयिने म्लुटम् ।  
 वदेज्जात्वा विधिज्ञाता वर्तमानं शुभाशुभम् ॥ ५ ॥  
 संक्षेपे संशयापेक्षे श्रोतुः स्याद्वहुसंभ्रमः ।  
 वरीयान्वितरस्तस्मादपेक्षासंशयापहः ॥ ६ ॥ etc.

**Chapter Colophons :**

इत्येत्र ताजकसुधानिधिनामध्येये  
 नारायणेन रचिते प्रियशिष्यतुष्टयै ।  
 अध्याय एष.....  
 ..... विचाररस्यः ॥

1. The whole of Verse 2 appears to be in apposition with गिराम् in Verse 1. We rather expect गिरम् but the MS in both the cases reads गिराम्.
2. The original reading in the MS was चकासा which appears to have been subsequently emended by someone as च कर्ता.

**Conclusion :—**

स्त्वलितं पतितं विहास्ति चेद्रभसेनाप्यथवालपुद्धितः ।  
 मम सन्त इहोद्धरन्तु तत्पतितानां शरणं हि यन्ति ते ॥ २२ ॥  
 आसीत्कारुण्यचारान्निधिरवनिपतिप्रस्थमूर्धमणीनां  
 वृन्दैर्नीराजिताङ्गजलनिधिवचसां पालने यः सरेस्वाच् ।  
 सिद्धान्तानां शरण्यः कणिपतिलिपिं यस्य कण्ठे व्यरंसी-  
 झूदेवो माधवाख्यः पशुपतिनगरे श्रीशपादाब्जसेवी ॥ २३ ॥  
 तस्माजातौ सुतौ द्वौ प्रवरमतियुतौ सर्वविद्यानिधानौ  
 ज्येष्ठो दादाख्यभट्टः सकलवसुभतीमण्डलख्यातनामा ।  
 ज्योतिःशास्त्रे विवस्वानतुलगुणगणः सूर्यसिद्धान्तटीकां  
 योऽकार्षीदकुताथीं स्मरहरचरणासक्तवेता नितान्तम् ॥ २४ ॥  
 पुत्रस्तस्माल्क्वनिष्ठो जलनिधिवचसां मार्मिकः सत्यवादी  
 श्रीमान्नारायणाख्यो निरवधिकरणापूर्णचित्तान्तरात्मा ।  
 शिष्यैः संप्रार्थितोऽहं प्रवरनिजधिया ताजकग्रन्थमेन-  
 माकर्षं तेन तुष्टो गजवदनविभूत्यारतीप्राणनाथः ॥ २५ ॥  
 होरासारसुधानिधिविरचितः पूर्वं मया जातके  
 व्याख्या वै नरजातकस्य रचिता दैवज्ञसंतोषिणी ।  
 प्रश्ने वै गणकप्रिया निगदिता युद्धादिसिद्धयै तथा  
 प्रोक्तो हि स्वरसागरस्तदनु तातीये सुधाया निधिः ॥ २६ ॥

**Colophon :—**

इतिश्रीश्रीग्रामंकरोपनामकमाधवात्मजनारायणकृतस्ताजकसार-  
 सुधानिधिः समाप्तः ॥

These extracts are taken from a MS (Accession No. 6040) dated Samvat 1873 (= c. 1816 A.C.) recently acquired by the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

Divested of the obrious degree of self-praise and exaggeration, these passages furnish us with a number of details. The author's family appears to have produced three scions, viz., Nārāyaṇa, Dādābhāṭa alias Dādābhāī and Mādhava, each of whom made a fair contribution to one or the other branch of Jyautīṣa.

(1) Nārāyaṇa, our present author, was the younger son of Mādhava, the elder son being Dādābhāī. He describes himself as highly intelligent, eminently learned, extremely

compassionate, conversant with the ins and outs of the science of Palmistry and a true reader or astrological forecaster of facts. He appears to be a devotee of Gaṇeśa and received tuition in Jyautiṣa from his elder brother.

Nārāyaṇa wrote five Sanskrit works which in their chronological order are: (i) the *Horāśārasudhānidhi*, (ii) a commentary, possibly entitled *Daivajñasamitōsiṇī*, on the *Narajātaka* (= Samarasimha's *Manuṣyajātaka*?), (iii) the *Gaṇakapriyā*, (iv) the *Svarasāgara*, and (v) the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi*. Of these the first two works deal with the Jātaka section and the third belongs to the Praśna section. The fourth belongs to the Svara section and deals with such topics as victory in a battle etc. The fifth, viz. the present work, deals with the Tārtiya<sup>1</sup> i. e. Tājaka or Varṣaphala section and was composed by the author at the request of his disciples for the delight of astrologers.

None of these five works appears to have been printed so far and MSS, too, of (ii), (iii) and (iv) have not been recorded by Aufrecht. MSS of (i) the *Horāśārasudhānidhi* and (v) the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi* are found<sup>2</sup> abundantly. Both of these are bulky treatises and have been included by S. B. Dikshit<sup>3</sup> among learned works on their subjects. The *Tājakasārasudhānidhi* contains several chapters and deals exhaustively and in a simple and lucid style with the topic of Varṣaphala. Therein the author explicitly mentions only the works of Romaka and Khindhika and is silent about the other works on the topic used by him. However, it seems improbable that the celebrated *Nilakanṭhī* of Nilakanṭha, composed in 1587 A.C.<sup>4</sup> i. e. about a hundred and fifty years before our author's date,

1. The form 'Tārtiya' has been lately coined in Sanskrit in the sense of the Persian word 'Tājika' or 'Tājaka'. Vide S. B. Dikshit: भारतीय-ज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास (Poona, 1931), Page 490. Although the form in this sense has not been recorded in the current Dictionaries, the etymology is possibly तृतीयस्येदं or तृतीयादागतं तार्तीयं as Tājika is regarded to be a part of the third (viz. Jātaka) section of Jyautiṣa.

2. Aufrecht: Catalogus Catalogorum, I, Pages 228, 769; II, P. 185, 203.

3. भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, Pages 487, 491.

4. Ibid, Pages 275, 491.

was unknown to him and he must have made a free use of it in preparing the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi*.

Nārāyaṇa's works thus treat of the topics of Astrology alone. Although he does not mention his date in the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi*, his literary activities can be easily decided to commence about twenty years after his elder brother's date (vide below) i. e. c. 1740 A.C.

(2) **Dādābhāṭṭa** alias **Dādābhāī** was the elder son of Mādhava and the elder brother of Nārāyaṇa. He is said to be endowed with supreme intelligence and other excellent qualities, to be a store-house of all branches of learning, a unique scholar of Astronomy conversant with its Siddhāntas and a winner in astronomical disputes commanding a very wide reputation. He was closely attached to Śiva and wrote a commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta* full of novel interpretations.

Luckily, Dādābhāī's com. on the *Sūryasiddhānta*, although probably not yet printed, is available to us in the form of MSS<sup>1</sup> from which we learn that it is named *Kirāṇāvalī*. A MS of the same is in the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, bearing No. 697 of 1883-84 and therein the portions pertaining to the author read as follows :—

**Beginning (Folio 1<sup>b</sup>) :—**

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

प्रणिपत्य परं ब्रह्म सूर्योशयमहोदयेः ।  
सारचन्द्रं समुद्धृत्य तनोमि किरणावलीम् ॥  
चिन्तपावनजातीयमाधवाङ्गभवः सुधीः ।  
दादाभाई समालोच्य वराहादिकृतीः स्फुटाः ॥

अत्र किलाविच्छिन्नपारभप्येण कथा etc.

End (Folis 196<sup>b</sup>) ..... स्पष्टोऽर्थः ।

इति श्रीचिन्तपावनजातीयश्रीगांव(क)रमाघवात्मजश्रीदादाभाईकृते  
सौरसूत्रविवरणे मानाध्यायः । समाप्तं चोत्तरार्धम् । श्रीरस्तु etc.

On Folio 179<sup>a</sup> (" .....ईदशे शालिवाहनशके १६४१ कलिगते  
४८२० अस्मिन् काले etc.") the author mentions the year 1641 of  
the Śālivāhana era i. e. 1719-20 A.C. as the current year and

1. Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, Page 107<sup>a</sup>, 733<sup>a</sup>; II, Page 176.

thus furnishes us with his exact date. The *Kiranāvalī* is mentioned by S. B. Dikshit<sup>1</sup> among noteworthy commentaries on the *Suryasiddhānta*.

Dādābhāī appears<sup>2</sup> to have further composed another small astronomical work named *Turiyayantra* which is not mentioned by Nārāyaṇa. A MS of the same covering only five folios is in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, bearing No. 821 of 1884-87 from which the work appears to deal with a quadrant. It, however, gives no personal details concerning the author, his date of composition, etc., but its concluding colophon on Folio 5<sup>b</sup> simply reads :—

“ इति साधवतनुजदादाभाईकृता तुर्ययन्त्रोत्पत्तिः ॥ ”

Dādābhāī's contribution is thus to Astronomy proper. From his date he appears to be a contemporary of Jagannātha-Samrāj, the illustrious astronomer and mathematician who composed the *Rekhāgaṇita* and the *Siddhāntasamrāj* in A. c. 1720<sup>3</sup> and 1732<sup>4</sup> respectively at the direction of his patron Sevai Jayasimha of Amber.

(3) Mādhava was the father of Dādābhāī and Nārāyaṇa. He is described as extremely benevolent, as an ardent devotee of Gaṇeśa,<sup>5</sup> as a complete master of Palmistry, Astronomy (possibly also including Astrology) and Grammar and as being highly adored by hosts of contemporary ruling chiefs.

Aufrecht notes<sup>6</sup> MSS stocked in the Bikaner Library of a work entitled *Sāmudrikacintāmaṇi* ascribed to Mādhava Śrīgrāmakara who is evidently identical with the father of Dādābhāī and Nārāyaṇa. Strangely enough, the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi* does not directly allude to Mādhava's authorship of this or any work.

1. भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, Pages 182 etc.

2. Aufrecht : *Catalogus Catalogorum*, II, Pages 49<sup>b</sup> and 53<sup>b</sup>.

3. S. B. Dikshit : भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, Page 294.

4. *Ibid*, Page 293. Vide also Sudhākara Dvivedi: *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī* (Benares, 1933), Page 104.

5. The epithet 'Śrīśapādābjasevī', too possibly points to Mādhava's attachment to Gaṇeśa and not to Viṣṇu, as 'Śrī' is also a name of Sarasvatī who, according to a current Purāṇic view, is wife of Gaṇeśa.

6. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, Pages 711<sup>a</sup> and 449<sup>a</sup>.

From the date furnished in Dādābhāi's *Kiraṇāvalī*. Mādhava appears to have flourished about 1700 A. C.

Thus at least three learned authors in the sphere of Jyautiṣa sprang from this family which was surnamed Śrigrāmaka or Śrīgāmavaka and belonged to the Kaśyapa gotra and Cītpāvana sub-community of Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas. From the allusion in the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi* to Mādhava's residence in the city of Lord Siva ('Paśupatinagare'), the family, which must, of course, have originally hailed from some village named Śrīgāmva (= Śirgāmva ?) or Gāmva in the Konkan, seems to have lately migrated to Benares. I was, however, not able to find any recent traces of this family at Benares even from the memory of traditionally well-informed aged Mahārāṣṭrians residing there. Sudhākara Dvivedi, who in his *Ganakataranginī* furnishes details of a number of renowned Jyautiṣins of the past, even including a few ones of Benares who have penned down nothing, says not a word about these three learned authors or their works, evidently because the same had not come into his notice.

Aufrecht has erred at least five times<sup>1</sup> in stating that Nārāyaṇa was son of Dādābhāi and grandson of Mādhava. S. B. Dikshit, too, has<sup>2</sup> committed the same error. From the extracts quoted above it is clearly established that Nārāyaṇa was younger brother, and not son, of Dādābhāi and that both were sons of Mādhava.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, Pages 248<sup>b</sup>, 291<sup>b</sup>, 769<sup>b</sup>; II, P. 185<sup>b</sup>, 203<sup>b</sup>.

2. भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास, Page 292. He seems to regard Nārāyaṇa as younger son of Dādābhāi.

## POETRY AND ROMANTICISM IN THE RG-VEDA

( G. N. Chakravarthy )

### Introduction

One particular epoch in the history of European thought has been described as the Romantic period and that is the nineteenth century, including some last decades of the eighteenth. It was a period of both literary and philosophical revolt against the classicism and the enlightenment which preceded and needed this revolutionary movement. Rg-veda had neither the dry classical literature nor the mechanistic empirical philosophy like that of the eighteenth century which urged a revolt. Still it exhibits all the romantic tendencies of the nineteenth century Europe, without being an organised, self-conscious and critical movement.

As Walter Pater uses them the terms Classic and Romantic do not describe particular literatures or particular periods in literary history so much as certain counter-balancing qualities and tendencies which run through the literatures of all times and countries. "There may be," he says "classical and romantic traits in the same author". If what Pater quotes from Stendhal namely : "That all good art was romantic in its day", is correct, that gives an idea of the difference between the two temperaments. Then we shall proceed with this assumption that the romantic conception of art—in the comprehensive sense of the term—and Artists is more refined and richer than that of classicism.

The fundamental point which urged the reaction in Europe was the hard and prosaic method of measuring everything by the understanding. The classical poets, influenced by the empirical humanistic philosophers of the day, had very narrow limitations both in their intellectual materials and in their geographical outlines. Intellect was their only measure of the universe. "Everything is plain to the understanding. We have no other faculty by which truth is assured to us."<sup>1</sup> Imagina-

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1. John Toland.

tion, the giant power had nothing to do with them, nor thought nor passion.”<sup>1</sup>

The idea of inquiry for the ‘classicist was very much restricted. He exiled the love of Nature from his poetry. Nature lay beyond his ken and God was still more incomprehensible. ‘The proper study of mankind is Man’ said Pope in his Essay on Man. Even there he made no wide study of mankind, none of his universal natures. It was an effort to raise man, so far as he is a rational individual, into a position of supremacy over everything. Man is supreme and to his word there can be no exception.’<sup>2</sup>

Religion, striving to base in itself upon the dogmatic creeds, was rapidly petrifying into a mere ‘dead letter of religion’, from which all the living spirit had fled. “All the moral evils of the day could be traced back to the common source namely, want of real religion ”<sup>3</sup> when they had no vital sense of God they had taken up a wrong attitude to life. There was merely the ‘body-politic’ which was not inspired by the soul politic.’ There was no deep passion for the pursuit of the unknown, the invisible, the infinite which is at the root of all arts and religions of mankind. So the only thing needed was a spiritual rebirth.

The new movement, which included the poets and the philosophers of the day, in rupture with the purely intellectual side of poetry gave elevation to the poet’s view of life. The whole group was bound by one tie, namely, by the aversion for the monotony of rationalism that preceded it. “Away with dry rationalism” said the romantic.<sup>4</sup> The romantic spirit was defined as ‘an accentuated predominance of emotional life provoked or directed by the exercise of imaginative vision. This new movement was “a lyre of many strings — a spirit, fluting a mystic wonder in the songs of Blake, opening the eyes of the universe under Wordsworth’s guidance, attacking the

1. S. A. Brooke, “Naturalism in English literature,” Introduction.

2. “Thus would I speak if I were Christ” said Bahrdt. No wonder Goethe described this period as an age of self-conceit. Cf. Cushman, ‘History of Philosophy’ Vol. II.

3. W. H. Hudson’s ‘Introduction to Carlyle’s Sartor Resartus.

4. H. A. Beers; The History of Romanticism in the 18th Cent Introduction.

whole kingdom of man's works and thoughts through the noble genius of Goethe."<sup>1</sup> It brought back to literature freedom, imagination and awe.

With the help of his vision and insight, the Romantic observes and represents the universal human nature. He loves, feels and honours Nature. The romantic poetry welds into one substance—Humanity and Nature. Nature speaks to Man through the sense of pleasure awakened by her beautiful and sublime aspects. Man, through his imaginative vision becomes aware that Nature and he are the members of one spiritual kingdom in which her function is "to minister to his mental and moral need in wisdom and love."<sup>2</sup> Nature is a life and a universal life.<sup>3</sup>

The romantic feels that God is to be sought, not through speculation or syllogism, but through the moral nature.<sup>4</sup> It is only the soul in action that can find God. It must be a personal revelation. Instead of a crude Deism, with merely a transcendental God, the romantic presents a world alive with the 'quicken'ing power' of an all pervading spirit. So the office of poetry, according to the romantic poet, is to conceive this one spirit, the universal, which expresses itself in all the individual appearances. It must reveal this infinite and perfect and express this eternal and the universal element in Nature and human nature, 'the ideas underneath all philosophies'.

Beers realises the difficulty in giving an exact answer to the question, "what is Romanticism and gives a quotation which describes the spirit." "Romanticism is not anything in the world expressible by words. In vain you grasp the butterfly's wings, the dust which gives it its colour is left upon your fingers. Romanticism is the star that shines, it is the wind that wails, the bird that flies. It is the infinite and the starry".<sup>5</sup> This

1. The Story of English Literature, Edmonds.

2. S. A. Brooke, p. 10.

3. "No conception can be more different from this than the mechanical universe of Pope, than the dead universe of Cowper, than the mere background of humanity which Nature is to Burns"—S. A. Brooke, p. 145.

4. Cf. Cook Wilson — quoted by Alexander History of Philosophy.

5. History of Romanticism in the 18th Century - Introduction.

description is not different from that of Pater's when he takes "strangeness added to beauty" to be the distinguishing feature of romantic art. Dr. Hedge finds the origin of the romantic feeling in wonder and the sense of mystery. "The essence of romance", he says "is mystery". The romantic creates his world with shadowy images and there is a glimpse of mystery. The forms that he uses are suggestive rather than representative.

"Aught that for its grace may be

Dear and yet dearer for its mystery".<sup>1</sup>

But this mysterious universe is not chaotic. The romantic poet "carries a bit of chaos about him what he manufactures into cosmos".<sup>2</sup> The poet unveils the spiritual beauty in things by perceiving the hidden truths. He sees the underlying infinite in various manifestations. This is the recognition of truth, beauty and goodness. He invests Nature with spirit, attributing to things not only life but moral life. He grasps all material Reality in its essential unity, feeling the sentiment of "Being spread over all things". "The philosopher's conclusion becomes the poet's vision".<sup>3</sup>

If this is the Romantic conception of a poet, his idea of the universe, his religious ideal and his ethical standard of life, we shall see how far these ideals are embodied in the Rg-vedic Poetry.

### The Rg-Veda

"When we read the Rg-veda, we feel that we are going to be held willing captives of a primitive Shelley or Keats".<sup>4</sup> Bloomfield is aware of the earthly ideals of the Rg-veda and also of the adverse criticisms passed against it on this account. But he justifies the existence of this ideal by saying that the poets must first live and afterwards compose poetry.

This dual motive of a poet is not the characteristic of only the Rg-vedic poet, but it is a necessity felt by all poets of all ages so long as a poet is a human being. This is clearly pointed out by Powell<sup>5</sup> when she said that poetry has two powers : the

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1. Shelley - Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.	2. Carlyle.
3. Sneath - Wordsworth the Poet of Nature and Man.	
4. Bloomfield : The Religion of the Vedas, p. 64.	
5. Romantic Theory of Poetry, p. 51.	

one is practical, a power to enlarge and ennable the being of man. The other is the power of communicating the knowledge of spiritual reality. This is perhaps what is meant by Keats when he said

" .....

Ye have left your souls on earth !

Ye have souls in heaven too,

Doubled-lived in regions new. "<sup>1</sup>

The vedic poet desired not only to enjoy but also to see.<sup>2</sup>

It is in the Rg-veda that the earliest and at the same time the most exalted conception of poetry has been embodied. This statement does not mean that the Vedas are a systematised treatise on poetics or that any conscious attempt was made by the Vedic seers to interpret or define poetry. What is meant is there are many aphoristical sayings in the Rg-veda which contain the very quintessence of the Indian conception of poetry. With this general remark in mind the Vedic idea of poetry can now be examined.

Kāvya, according to the Vedic poets is the creation of a Kavi. Kavi is an invariable epithet of the Gods. The Vedas mean by this epithet to bring out a most fundamental character, an inalienable dharma of the heavenly host.<sup>3</sup> The Kavi is he who, by his poetic power, is to fashion divine beauty in heaven.<sup>4</sup> Thus the essence of poetic power is to fashion divine beauty, to reveal heavenly forms, and the substance or material on which the poet works is truth.<sup>5</sup> To put it briefly the Vedic poets thought of the poet as one who visualised and brought into form Beauty and Truth.

The poet is a trinity in himself. He is the knower, the seer of Truth.<sup>6</sup> The forms of Beauty which the poet raises by his power are the body of Truth. Secondly, the poet is not only a seer but also a doer, not merely a knower but also a creator. He has dynamic knowledge and his vision itself is power.<sup>7</sup> He has a

1. Ode on the Poets. 2. Rg-veda I - 127 - 11. 3. Rg-veda, 3. 38. 1-2.

4. " कविः कवित्वा दिवि इपमासजत् " 10. 124. 7. 5. 10. 5. 2.

6. " अभिविदुष्कविस्सन् ". क्रान्तदर्शी सन् अभिमुख्येन सर्वं विद्वान् 1. 71. 10.

7. 3. 54. 6.

blazing radiance of the Sun and is supremely potent in his self-luminousness.<sup>1</sup> Such a poet as power is not only the revealer but also the fashioner (रूपा) and the organiser of Truth (वेधाः).<sup>2</sup> The effective marshalling and the organisation of Truth is what is called Rita, the Right, Dharma, the Law or Rhythm, the ordered movement and invariable execution of Truth. Thirdly, delight is the supremely intimate element of the poetic personality. Dear and delightful is the poet, dear and delightful are his works.”<sup>3</sup>

The ideal poet of the Rg-veda is therefore one, who blends all his diverse energies into a harmonious whole. Knowledge must be vivified by emotion, passion must be conjoined with reason and imagination should brood over all. “The state which results from such consentaneous action of diverse facultis is one, not of pure passion, nor of pure thought; it is one of the impassioned contemplation”.<sup>4</sup> Here we find the ideal poet of Novalis, the most characteristic representative of Romantic poetry, who believed that poetry and knowledge are, in their deepest nature, the one expression of a single creative force. The world of understanding and the rapture of understanding were not separable at all for the Vedic poet. The two united in his experience, perfectly combining sense and spirit.

Poetry approaches here the characteristic of spirituality. Only a genuine poet can understand Nature<sup>5</sup> for the true laws of Nature are through and through analogous to the laws of his creation.<sup>6</sup> Nature is a work of art and God is the artist who pours out the wealth of His beautiful life.

It would be necessary to understand what the Vedic poet meant by the expressions Beauty and Truth. Here we find a distinction observed between the ordinary human perception and the vision of the poet. The individual's likes and dislikes

1. “स्वतवसः कवयः सूर्यत्वचः” 7. 59. 11.
2. “कवयः सन्ति वेधसः” 5. 52. 13.
3. “कविर्हि मधुहस्त्यः” 5. 5. 2.  
“कवियोनावधिप्रियः” 9. 25. 3. cf. 9. 25. 6.
4. Studies in Literature by Dowden.
5. 10. 88. 6.
6. 1. 160. 3 and 4; 8. 41. 3.

are the tape with which the ordinary mind measures beauty and truth. The common man misses the beauty of all sublime forms of creation. He not only misses them but also sometimes scorns that which is great.<sup>1</sup> It is only what comes within the bounds of his human sight that he calls beautiful. But to a real poet, creation is itself beautiful. His vision is not limited by space and time because he is endowed with his imaginative vision.<sup>2</sup> The poet transcends the limitations of the human mind and senses in his contemplative spiritual vision. "When the spiritual temperature is highest, it breaks into poetry".<sup>3</sup> And the peculiar quality of poetry lies in this that it tries to emancipate us 'from the prison of the actual' by giving us spiritual rights in the 'universe of the mind',<sup>4</sup> exempt from the limitations of matter, time and space. The poet yearns for and desires the ideal. His tendency is to leave the real, the known and to go after the invisible, the perfect and eternal, the object which only the spirit could conceive.<sup>5</sup> "The sages talk about things which are beyond the ordinary man's power of comprehension". The true poetic spirit, ardent, full of the zest of discovery, strives to grasp the height and depth of the new earth and new heaven.<sup>6</sup> It is this spiritual vision, which can comprehend the universe as a whole and as it is, that can also perceive beauty and truth simultaneously. Truth and Beauty are eternal and real. They are one and can be realised only by the most living soul.

The mind of the Rgvedic poet has been habituated to the vast. "Far roams my mind whose thoughts are in the distance."<sup>7</sup> The poet wants to express the infinite and not the limited things of daily life. His landscapes are very wide and he observes Nature only in her large features. "Nothing could answer to the feeling of the Rg-vedic poet for the infinite so well as the boundless and brilliant firmament of heaven."<sup>8</sup> It is wide, vast and manifold whose bounds are

1. No less a person than Pope did it. Johnson's Lives of Poets-p. 398.

2. A कवि is a कान्तदर्शिन्. He is omniscient.

3. S. A. Brooke - Naturalism in English Poetry.

4. 1. 139. 2. - R. V. 5. Rg-veda 1. 164. 5.

6. 6. 9. 6. 7. 6. 9. 6.

8. Sir S. Radhakrishnan : Indian Philosophy I.

distant.<sup>1</sup> Aditi is the infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds and beyond the sky. Earth is mighty and heaven is incomparable. The vault of heaven, decked with stars<sup>2</sup> presents a phenomenon far more vast to the eye of the observer than the Sun which occupies but an extremely small portion of that expanse during its daily course.

Confronted with the universe of infinite space and sublime objects with fields of space sown thick with stars the poet expresses, with wonder, his ignorance about the origin and destiny of all.<sup>3</sup> The course of Nature's phases is partially known to him. Nature remains of quite infinite depth and of quite infinite expansion. The poet is bewildered and exhibits his sense of mystery which is unfathomable and all-pervading.

"I know not either warp or woof, I know not the web they weave."<sup>4</sup>

There is not merely this kind of wild imagination, but there is also the earnest thought and inquiry.<sup>5</sup> The poet's knowledge of the difference between the physical eye and the spiritual vision does not mean that he questioned the corporeal eye any more than he would question a window concerning sight. He looks through it and not with it. He admits his partial knowledge and he is often placed between partial recognition and partial wonder.<sup>6</sup> He bases his comprehension on the small visible and extends it into the infinite deeps of the invisible.<sup>7</sup>

"Seen are their lowest dwelling places only  
But they are in remote and secret regions "<sup>8</sup>

But the poet cannot be satisfied with his partial knowledge, He wants to probe deep behind all the appearances which, he is

1. " उर्वा पृथ्वी बहुली दूरे अन्ते " 1. 185. 7.  
" यत्सीं वारिष्ठे बृहती विविन्वन्..." 4. 56. 1.
2. 1. 68. 5.
3. " अचिकित्वश्चिकितुष्पश्चिदत्र कवीन् पृच्छामि...नविद्वान् " 1. 164. 4.
4. " नाहं तनुं न वि जानाम्योतुं न यं वयंति समरेऽतमानाः..." 6. 9. 2.
5. " नतं विदाय य इमाजजान " यः इमानि भूतानि उत्पादितवान् तं विश्व-  
कर्माणं न जानीय... 10. 82. 7.
6. " Men mark the one and fail to mark the other " 1. 164. 38.
7. 1. 159. 4.
8. ददृश एषामवमा सदर्सि परेषु या गुह्येषु ब्रतेषु... 3. 54. 5.

certain, are only the external manifestations of one Supreme Reality which lives in all things and moves them all.

The poet is enraptured by the recognition that everything in Nature from the beauty of this world to the starry magnificence of the skies performs its task,<sup>1</sup> that all these wonders strive to fulfil their mission, and that within the limits set for it, each unit works to the best of its ability.<sup>2</sup> He sees the underlying infinite in various manifestations.<sup>3</sup> Thus the poet tries to unveil the spiritual beauty in things by perceiving the hidden truths.

The Vedic poet has a great deal to say about the terrible appearance of Nature. He is aware of the storms 'that vex the calm of Nature,' of the violent forces, but yet, 'beneath the outward range of the elements' he knows that order rules. He believes that this world of wild storms is kept tame by the music of beauty.<sup>4</sup>

The poet finds music in the harmony underlying Nature. The feeling he has of the inner structure of Nature is that the soul of all her voices and utterances is perfect music. His poetry is musical thought.<sup>5</sup> He sees deep enough and sees musically, the heart of Nature being everywhere music, he could reach it. He believes that whatsoever is not properly sung is no poem.

The great cosmic functions of various deities can be performed only with the help of songs. The seven singers from heaven have wrought their works while singing by day and night. Songs can magnify Indra's expansive might as a seer. Agni, the son of strength, can become omniscient only as a holy singer. Mitra and Varuna can be exalted high by songs. All the Gods in their great joy and gladness give men high dominions because men sing. Goddess Dawn will bless all singers.

1. 1. 24. 10 ; 1. 25. 6.      2. 10. 121. 1 ; 1. 24. 8.      3. 1. 164. 46.

4. "How could the rude earth, make these, if her essence rugged as she looks and is, were not inwardly beauty." Carlyle - The Hero as a Poet.

5. "The poet is he who thinks in that manner. It is a man's sincerity and depth of vision that makes him a poet. See deep enough and you see musically, the heart of Nature being everywhere music if you can only reach it."—Ibid.

Songs help creation and sustenance. It is a joy to sing and joy to create. The poets are proud of their songs. The poets are sure that their hymns are a thing of blameless and finished beauty because they are only imitating Nature. Theirs is pure poetry because they 'have decked their lauds with heart and mind and spirit'.<sup>1</sup> The Gods, being pleased with their songs, cooperate with the poets promoting their devotion and its expression. They are the twin factors of devoted fervour and its successful utterance. Intercommunion between the Gods and men is possible only because the Gods can respond to the singing devotee. The singing poets are the special friends of Gods. Their association in active friendship can rest only upon their songs. Music brings harmony and harmony is beautiful.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the poet perceives beauty in Gods and in himself as well as in his works because he imitates the Gods in all walks of righteous life. Their reciprocal friendship means mutual affection.

Beauty and affection, the Vedic poet believed, are the unique quality of women. It is womanly beauty and womanly affection which inflame the poet's heart. A woman with the glow of the sky in her face and the flame of Dawn in her heart is a magnet to which his poetic fervour constantly turns. His poetry is full of the blood of life and life's pleasures.

The hymn, Ushas, shows the power of poetic effect. It is as if the perfect ideal of beauty of being called into existence before the eyes of the reader by the magic of the words: "Ushas is the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry and there is no more charming figure in the descriptive religious lyrics of any other literature".<sup>3</sup> She unveils her charms effulgent in peerless beauty.

A woman is the giver of all beauty and "for the sake of woman's beauty and affection it is worth living in the world."<sup>4</sup>

1. "इन्द्राय हृदामनसामनीषाप्रत्नायपत्वेधियोमर्जयन्त" ... 1. 61. 2.

2. "O may we soon again renew that song,  
And keep in tune with Heaven, till God, ere long  
To His celestial consort us unite,  
To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light"

Milton At a Solemn Music.

3. Macdonell - Vedic mythology. 4. Rabindranath Tagore.

The reflection of her beauty assures power over the poet's heart and 'radiates thence' over the world. Even Nature would not appear beautiful to the Vedic poet if the glory of the woman's face had not penetrated his mind.<sup>1</sup>

"Loving the loving one, as wives their husbands, the sisters of one home have urged Agni forward".<sup>2</sup> Agni is a king, surrounded by faithful friends like a blameless dame dear to her husband. The Sun follows the dawn like a young man following a maiden.<sup>3</sup> Vāyu wakes up intelligence as when a lover wakes his sleeping love.<sup>4</sup>

The poet adds to these moving powers of Nature a new life of joy and jollity. Wherever he goes, he goes through a rejoicing world and 'he marries its joy and the joy of his own heart' as Wordsworth did. He receives delight and gives back delight.

"Men crave and gain their wish,  
Close to her husband clings the wife,  
And in the embraces intertwined, both,  
Give and take the bliss of love."<sup>5</sup>

Thus we find that the poets are conscious that all things in the universe and themselves among them are in a state of vital interaction, Gods, Men and Nature communicating with one another. At the root of this belief is the fact that natural objects have in them an aspect in which they are all capable of representing a universal meaning.<sup>6</sup> All Gods and men are guided by one all world-embracing power. This power is not merely a regulating or directing principle but this is the foundation upon which the universe is created. The phenomena of Nature are changeable but this principle, regulating the periodical recurrence of the phenomena is constant. This is the spirit which "is the lord of what is fixed and moving, that walks, that flies, this multiform creation".<sup>7</sup> It is 'motion and a spirit

1. "जायापर्ति वहति वग्नुना सुमत्" ... 10. 32. 3.

2. 1. 71. 1.

3. "सूर्यो देवीमुषसं रोचमानां मयोः न योषामभ्येति पश्चात्" ... 1. 115. 2.

4. "प्रबोधया पुरान्धि जार आससतीमिव" ... 1. 134. 3.

5. "अर्थमिद्वा उ अर्थिन आजायायुवते पतिम्..." ... 1. 105. 2.

6. "विश्वे देवाः समनसः सकेताः एकं क्रतुमभि वि यंति साधु" ... 6. 9. 5.

7. "एजदध्युवं पत्यते विश्वमेकं चरत्पतति विष्णुं विजातं" ... 3. 54. 8.

that impels all thinking things, all objects of all thought and rolls through all things".<sup>1</sup>

This universal principle called Rita, is a unity in its application both to natural phenomena and human conduct. "What law is in the physical world, that virtue is in the moral world".<sup>2</sup>

Personality is sometimes ascribed to this Principle but not in the usual sense.<sup>3</sup> "There is but One, One Being, neither male nor female a Being raised high above all the conditions and limitations of personality and of human nature".<sup>4</sup> The Impersonal is made personal. But this Impersonal includes personality and is also more than that, corresponding to the "Personality" of Coleridge.<sup>5</sup>

Rita is known to the poets only in their idea and is merely an abstraction. They can never look directly at it for it is bodiless and featureless. The poets know that their limited powers cannot compass the transcendent vastness of this universal spirit.<sup>6</sup> "But this formless, impersonal Being is worshipped by the warm full-blooded heart of the emotional poets as tender and benevolent deities".<sup>7</sup>

Mystery and wonder might have been the basis for their worship but they have to worship. Therefore they feel that they must have a sense of reality and a feeling of objective presence. Gods must manifest themselves to their sense.<sup>8</sup> They have to weave about them the the visible garments of time and space.<sup>9</sup>

1. Wordsworth.

2. "The Greek conception of the moral life as a harmony or an ordered whole is suggested here."—Radhakrishnan, Vol. I, p. 80.

3. "Varuna is almost the personification of this Principle."—Walig; The Cosmology of the R. V. p. 93.

"Perhaps Rita substantiated, the Aditi spiritualised, the one breathing breathless."—Radhakrishna, p. 95.

4. Maxmüller : History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

5. Muirhead ; Coleridge as a Philosopher.

6. "वि मे कर्णा पतयतो विचक्षुर्वादं ज्योतिर्हृदयं आहितं यत्

विष्णु मनश्चरति दूर आधीः कि स्विप्रक्ष्यामि किमु न् मतिष्ये" 6. 9. 6.

7. S. Radhakrishnan : Vol. I, p. 97.

8. "Eternity should look more or less vitally through the time figure"—Carlyle. Sartor Resartus.

9. "All forms and ceremonies are but religious vestments, symbols express man's deepest sense of divine mystery of the universe and the hunger and thirst of his soul for God."—Carlyle, S. R.

Hence there is the wondrous agency of symbols. There imaginative 'genius',<sup>1</sup> clings to their images and all their thinking is representational. Even God must reveal himself through symbols. The poets see Nature in a magic garb and "the Vedas are eternally remembered for their happy figure".<sup>2</sup>

Nature itself is a vast trope and all natures are tropes. Aditi is infinite Nature and all other Gods are her manifestations.<sup>3</sup> The poets employ the metaphor of building, in its various details when they speak of the formation of the world. Creation is beautiful and God is a perfect artist. Foundations of this univeral building are alluded to.<sup>4</sup> The cosmic houses will have doors. Divine will and purpose are conceived on the analogy of human personality. Nature is partially anthropomorphised and every species of force in Nature is given human soul. There is the attempt to harmonise Nature's designs with those of men. Gods will have great cosmic functions to perform and they are the guardians and the protectors of the universe and men should repay the obligation through sacrifice.

Personality might be a limitation but there is not the gross human personality. The course of the Eternal Absolute is conceived only on the human analogy. Varuna who represents the 'Great Concealment', which is above time and space is given only a temporal setting. He is a cosmic personality. The Sun is his eye, the sky is the garment and the storm is his breath.<sup>5</sup>

What they represent here, they know only in a 'supra-rational' manner. Their experience is not cognitive in the ordinary sense. They do not sufficiently recognise the conceptual character of their thought and therefore they fall between concept and representation. They always plunge into deep imagery. "No one has even found a truer expression of the Infinite breathing within itself, than the ocean in a dark night, without a star and without a torch."<sup>6</sup> This is the imagery of a true poet.

1. 'Genius' when used with emphasis implies imagination, use of symbols and figurative speech. — Emerson — "Imagination and Poetry".

2. Emerson — Ibid. 3. "अदितिर्माता स पितास पुत्रः

"विश्वेदेवा अदिति: पञ्चजना अदितिर्जीतमदितिर्जनित्वम्" 1. 89. 10.

4. "किं स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आस यतो द्यावा पृथिवी निष्टत्क्षः" 10. 37. 1.

5. "आत्माते वातो...विश्वा ते धाम वस्ण प्रियाणि..." 7. 87. 2.

6. Maxmüller : History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

Rita, the universal principle, is not bound by limitations., but it needs to be worked out and actualised in the world of space, time and will. But the same Rita in the natural world is only a manifestation and never a complete manifestation of the transcendental Reality. All Nature is supernatural because natural laws are only the manifestations of the spiritual force.

Thus we find in the Rgveda both the realism of Wordsworth and the transcendentalism of Coleridge. The poets are realists in so far as there is the desire for truth and love of Nature. The poets take the familiar as the objects of their study and worship, exalting them through the strength of their reflective sensibility. They are idealists in the sense that they chose the supernatural in their theme and set out to invest it with semblance of Truth as with the power to appeal to feelings.

By these methods the poets tend towards one end namely, the intimate fusion of the real and the ideal and "the bond which unites these elements is here none other than the perception of the possibilities of wonderment to be found in the simplest things".<sup>1</sup>

The poets recognise this all-pervading mystery which they read through symbols. But as they regard these symbols in one or other of two possible ways, they class human beings either with the ignorant or with the wise. The ignorant sees only the symbol and takes it for the ultimate fact. But the wise man sees the symbol, knows that it is only a symbol and penetrates into it for the ultimate fact which it symbolises.<sup>2</sup> Thus the function of the wise man, who is no other than the poet is to comprehend and express ' the indestructible ' which exists behind the inconstant universe of perception.<sup>3</sup>

Being endowed with this temperament, the seers as poets regarded philosophy as the expounder of the poetry of life which is to be found in all things and as philosophers they conceived

1. Whether of these is elder, whether later? How were they born, who knoweth it? 1. 186. 1.

"को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानम्" ... 1. 164. 4.

2. "पाकः पृच्छामि मनसाविजानन् देवानामेना निहिता पदानि  
..... आधिसप्ता तन्तूनिवतलिरे कवय ओतवाङ्" 1. 164. 4.

3. 1. 105; 1. 164. 5.

poetry as a pictorial form of thought. Then they regard religion as the third member of the alliance.<sup>1</sup>

Their religion is not a mere sentimental religion of feeling nor was their attempt to comprehend 'the indestructible order'<sup>2</sup> by loading reason with fetters. They do not want to infer their God.<sup>3</sup>

What their heart craves and what to them was the essence of religion is direct communion with God. Their philosophical endeavour does not differ in its essence from the religious yearning. They penetrate into the innermost region in which underlie religion as well as knowledge. "With meditations of the heart they traverse the secret lore that has a thousand branches.<sup>4</sup> They know that it is in response to the imperative necessities of their nature that they mould themselves the outward emblems of their ideas and aspirations. Yet they are only emblems. Their knowledge must grow and thought must expand. They exhibit the enquiring spirit and thirst for knowledge when they ask 'where is the blood of life, the spirit? What was that One who in the unborn image has established and fixed firm the world's regions?'"

The poets longed for an actual God, but mere thought has no power to create actuality. 'It is the will that can postulate an actual God.'<sup>5</sup> Therefore they revealed their thought in their heart. It is only in this way the sages could understand the mystery. Thus philosophy blends here with faith and is complemented by it. Faith is wisdom<sup>6</sup> and ultimately faith becomes a Goddess and it evolves itself into Bhakti, devotion to the eternal and the only Being that is at the root of all things.<sup>7</sup>

The poetic prayer acquires, here, a tone of humble piety. Humility, devotion and love are the key 'which determines the

1. " If you love knowledge and love Art,  
    You have got religion in your heart " — Goethe.

2. The function of poetry is to comprehend 'the indestructible order' — Shelley — Defence of Poetry.

3. " We do not want merely inferred friends, can we possibly be satisfied with an inferred God." — Alexander's History of Philosophy.

4. " हृदयस्य प्रकोटैः सहस्रवल्लामभिसं चरन्ति " 7. 33. 9.

5. Varieties of Religious Experience, W. James.

6. Faith is an aspect of knowledge for Ramanuja.

" भक्तिश्च ज्ञानविशेष एव..." Vedartha Sangrah. R. V. 10. 151. 1.

7. Bloomfield — The Religion of the Vedas — p. 186.

tone of their sacrifice'. They discover comrades in Gods and find touching words in their heart for their hailing grace.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, they observe with joy that whatsoever man ought to obey, he cannot but obey. "Before no faintest revelation of the God-like did they ever stand irreverent." They admit determinism and are conscious that the universal Ruler is irresistible. Yet theirs is a religion of optimism and of joy. It is an expression of delight in being alive in such a great and glorious world. They do not want any freedom to act in their own way because they think it good to be guided by such benevolent deities.<sup>2</sup>

This mutual relation between the Gods and the devotees is of the highest importance, from the ethical point of view, for this determines the whole attitude of the normal man.<sup>3</sup> Morality is founded upon Rita, the transcendental law. Morality is an expression of divine law, and all wrong doing is a breach of this law. The sinner is one who is out of harmony with the higher spiritual environment which encompasses and controls the world. "Herein lies the special nature of the Rg-vedic idea of sin".<sup>4</sup> Religion, here, is a belief in a supreme good power.

Thus moral imperative receives its sanction from the law and order of the entire universe, and the moral element lies in the very recognition of the bright, beneficent and holy Gods. Good is not something which man has to bring into existence for the first time. It is something which has been in existence for all time. Thus the devotees feel that there is a Law of righteouaness in the moral world answering to the beautiful order of Nature, and the sweets of life are looked upon as the rewards of the right doing man.<sup>5</sup>

1. 1. 105.

2. "नात्या वशिम विमुचं नावृतं पुनर्बिद्धान्पथः पुर एत ऋजु नेषति" 5. 46. 1

3. Hopkins — Ethics of India, p. 8.

4. Lefeur : The Vedic Idea of Sin.

5. "मधुवातायते मधुकरन्तिसिन्धवः....." 1. 90. 6.

"यस्मे त्वं सुकृते जातवेद उ लोकमग्ने कृष्णवः स्योनं..." 5. 4. 11.

"The piety of the Rg-veda cannot be fairly be called a 'do ut des' piety. Prosperity is the reward but not the goal of right doing."— Lefeur — The Vedic Idea of Sin, p. 14.

That this transcendental law of the universe should be so directly related to human conduct implies a positive attitude to life and an active interest in it. 'The world of man has been made beautiful as light.' Life is joyful. "Desire, far from being the root of human woe, is a characteristic of the perfect realm of existence."<sup>1</sup>

This optimism is the result of the influence of their pantheism "Pantheism was the ruling conception of the sages of the Vedas." "It might be argued that whatever is universally attractive is by that very consideration proved to be optimistic and, therefore, pantheism may be admitted to be optimistic without any further evidence".<sup>2</sup>

Nature is universally attractive. The poets conceive of joyousness as being the main part of Nature's essential life. Her life is a life of love. Love pervades all Nature and man and Nature are knit together by this spiritual bond into a spiritual kingdom.

Nature is not only a joy-giver but each natural phenomenon is a safe guide to wisdom and goodness. Nature's is an ethical spirit.<sup>3</sup> The poets' heart would always be open to Natures' instruction, inspiration and delight, and she has her influence upon them through hope and joy. Their heart would hold every delight she could unfold. She is throughout pervaded by the one universal God, the individual Gods being "He individualised, who moves the whole world from within", His heart in Hers and her own in His so that what lives and moves and dwells in Him can never lose His spirit and His strength".<sup>4</sup> In such a world of joy and with their own ideal aspiration, the Vedic sects lived.

"In the name of Him who caused Himself to be,  
Creating ever from eternity  
In His name who made faith and trust and love,  
The strength of things and Man's activity,  
Oft named and yet unfathomed mystery."

1. Lefeur — "यत्र कामा निकामाद्य यत्र ब्रह्मस्य विष्टपं स्वधाच्य यत्र तृप्तिश्च तत्र माममृतं कृधि" 9. 113, 10.

2. Urquhart: Pantheism, P. 5.

3. "इमे मित्रो वर्णो.....

क्रुं युचेतसं.....सुपथानयन्ति" 7. 60. 6.

4. This is the God of Wordsworth. Cf. Sneath.

## KARPŪRĪYA ŚIVADATTA AND HIS MEDICAL TREATISES — BETWEEN A.D. 1625 AND 1700.

( P. K. Gode, M. A. )

Aufrecht records the following manuscripts of *Śivakośa* by Śivadatta with his own commentary :—

*CC I*, 647—“शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Oxf. 195a”<sup>1</sup>

*CC, II*, 154—“शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Comm.—Śivaprakāśa by the same, Stein 54.”<sup>2</sup>

Both the MSS of the *Śivakośa* and its commentary *Śivaprakāśa* mentioned by Aufrecht are inaccessible to me for study and analysis. Subsequent to the publication of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* the B. O. R. Institute published a list<sup>3</sup> of MSS added to the Government MSS Library. In this list we find a complete MS of the *Śivakośa* with the *Śivaprakāśa* viz. No. 616 of 1895–1902. As the lexicon was composed in A. D. 1677 and as it is a compilation based on many early lexicons and other works it is worthwhile recording a complete list of the works and authors mentioned in it especially because no such list has been given either by Aufrecht or Stein. Prof. Ramāvatāra Sarma also refers to this lexion casually in his survey<sup>4</sup> of lexicons. Aufrecht<sup>5</sup> mentions संज्ञासमुच्चय as the work

1. Vide p. 195 of Aufrecht's Catalogue of MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1864. Aufrecht has pointed out the date of the lexicon viz. Śaka 1599 (= S. D. 1677) represented by the chronogram “नवग्रहतिथि” at the end of the work.

2. Vide p. 54 of Catalogue of Jammu MSS. ( 1894 ).

MS. No. 398—शिवकोशब्याख्या शिवप्रकाशः by शिवदत्त कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज — dated Saṁvat 1880 (= 1824), complete. The text and commentary are by the same author — Date of composition Śaka 1599 ( S. D. 1677 ).

The B. O. R. I. MS No. 616 of 1895–1902 has the following colophons :—

Text—“इति कर्पूरीय शिवदत्तकृतः शिवकोषः पूर्णः”

Comm.—“इति श्रीकर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज मिश्रशिवदत्तकृतः शिवप्रकाशः पूर्णः”

3. Vide p. 23 of Lists of MSS ( B. O. R. I. ) Poona, 1925.

4. Vide p. 1 Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. 1, Baroda, 1928 — “The *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta composed in 1677 is homonymous and has a commentary called *Śivaprakāśa*.”

5. CC, I. 687—“संज्ञासमुच्चय med. by Śivadattamīśra, L. 1481.”

of Śivadatta and records only one MS of it, viz. "L. 1481". This MS has been described by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*<sup>1</sup> It was copied in A. D. 1719 and is perhaps the oldest dated MS of Śivadatta's works. At any rate it is removed in point of time by about 42 years from the *Śivakośa* and its commentary. Śivadatta<sup>2</sup> was a physician trained under his own father Caturbhūja and other eminent and learned physicians of his time as stated by him in verse 2 at the close of his संज्ञासमुच्चय.

Works and authors mentioned by Śivadatta in his *own commentary on the Śivakośa* (MS No. 616 of 1895-1902) are :—

1. वाग्मट, fol. 1	16. बाप्तचंद्रः, fol. 6
2. शब्दार्थव, fol. 2	17. मदनविनोद, fol. 7
3. मेदिनी, fol. 3	18. त्रिकांडशेषः, fol. 8
4. विश्व, fol. 3	19. बापदेव, fol. 8
5. धन्वंतरी, fol. 3	20. देवलः, fol. 9
6. भावमिश्र, fol. 3, (C. A.D. 1550)	21. सिंहः, fol. 10
7. राजनिधंडु, fol. 4	22. हलायुधः, fol. 10
8. केयदेव, fol. 4, [Vide my paper in <i>Annals</i> (B. O. R. Institute XIX, 188-190].	23. द्विरूपकोष, fol. 10
9. अभिधानचूडामणि, fol. 4	24. मेघदूत fol. 11
10. अमर, fol. 4	25. विश्वलोचन, fol. 11, (Vide my paper in the <i>Karnāṭak Historical Review</i> , III, 15-20).
11. हृदयदीपक, fol. 4	26. वाग्मटाचार्यः, fol. 11
12. निर्धटुः, fol. 5, निर्धटुः (5)	27. तारपालः, fol. 12
13. डल्ण, fol. 5	28. लोचन, fol. 12, (See No. 25 above)
14. वाचस्पति, fol. 5, 6	
15. हैमः, fol. 6	

1. Vide p. 79, of Vol. IV of Notices—MS No. 1481 Dated Śaka 1641 = (A. D. 1719)—A treatise on Nosology, Therapeutics and Materia Medica: By Śivadatta Miśra.

End :—

“संज्ञासमुच्चयमसुं लघुवाग्मटादि-  
ग्रथप्रकाशनपरं विषमस्थलेषु।  
तातादधीत विधिवद्रवैद्यविद्यः  
चक्रे चतुर्भुजसुतः शिवदत्तमिश्रः ॥२॥”

2. Vide Aufrecht CC, II, 60—नलोदयटीका by शिवदत्त. Peters 5. 351 = MS No. 351 1892-95. This शिवदत्त calls himself “मगवन्मिश्रतनूजः”.

29. गुणरत्नमाला, fol. 13  
 30. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश, fol. 14  
 31. वैद्यवल्लभः, fol. 14, 62  
 32. रत्नकोष, fol. 15  
 33. रुद्र, fol. 15  
 34. रभस, fol. 15  
 35. बाणभट्ट, fol. 15  
 36. दमयन्तीकाच्य, fol. 15  
 37. अमरचंद्र, fol. 16  
 38. रसरत्नसमुच्चये वाग्भटाचार्यः, fol. 16  
 39. शाश्वत, fol. 20  
 40. लोलिंबराज, fol. 21, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, VII, Nos. 3-4)  
 41. धर्मदास, fol. 22  
 42. माघव, fol. 22  
 43. नाममाला, fol. 24  
 44. केशव, fol. 25  
 45. नान्यदेव, fol. 25  
 46. अमरमाला, fol. 32  
 47. वौपालित, fol. 32  
 48. धर्मिष्ठ, fol. 33  
 49. आश्र्यसंजरी, fol. 33  
 50. धरणि, fol. 34  
 51. राम, fol. 35  
 52. भारवि, fol. 35  
 53. हेमचंद्र, fol. 36  
 54. सुभूति, fol. 37, [Vide my paper in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) XVI, 313-314 and Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Volume, 41-51)]  
 55. हारावलि, fol. 39

56. अजय, fol. 41  
 57. पुरुषोत्तम, fol. 41  
 58. मुकुट, fol. 44, 68  
 59. रामाश्रमाः, fol. 45, 57, 59, 83, 91, 93, 96  
 60. माघ, fol. 45  
 61. वृद्धाः, fol. 47  
 62. नारायणभट्टाः fol. 53  
 63. माला, fol. 53  
 64. हेमाद्रि, fol. 59, (Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* is possibly referred to (Vide my Introduction to *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* edited by Harishastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938))  
 65. सुश्रुत, fol. 59  
 66. अष्टांगसंग्रह, fol. 66  
 67. वंगसेन, fol. 68, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, III, 535-543)  
 68. रंतिदेव, fol. 73  
 69. प्राच्याः, fol. 71  
 70. हृष्णचंद्रः, fol. 74  
 71. चंद्रनन्दनः, fol. 74  
 72. रूपनारायण, fol. 76, 83  
 73. स्वामी, fol. 77, 83  
 74. कालिदास, fol. 80  
 75. विद्याधमुखमंडन, fol. 88  
 76. जेज्जटः, fol. 90  
 77. भवभूति fol. 92  
 78. गुणमाला, fol. 93  
 79. उत्पलिनीकोष, fol. 104

Many of the lexicons in the above list are mentioned innumerable times but I have desisted from noting all these references for want of space. I shall prove in a separate paper that the references to "रामाश्रमाः" by Śivadatta (Vide No. 59 in the above list) are to the व्याख्यासुधा commentary on the *Amara-*

*kośa* by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.<sup>1</sup> Bhānuji flourished between A. D. 1600 and 1650 or so and hence may be looked upon as the senior contemporary of Śivadatta, who composed his lexicon in A. D. 1677.

It appears that Śivadatta was a learned physician and had an equally learned son of the name Kṛṣṇadatta, who composed, a commentary on the *Dravyaguṇaśataslokī* of Trimalla.<sup>2</sup> This commentary is called *Dipikā* or *Dravyadipikā*. Aufrecht records the following MSS of this commentary :—

CC. I. 120—"Oudh IX, 26" and "NP V, 30"

CC. II. 57—"Rgb 922" (by कृष्णदत्त son of शिवदत्त). The MS "Rgb 922" is identical with No. 922 of 1884-87 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This MS contains a corrupt colophon as follows :—

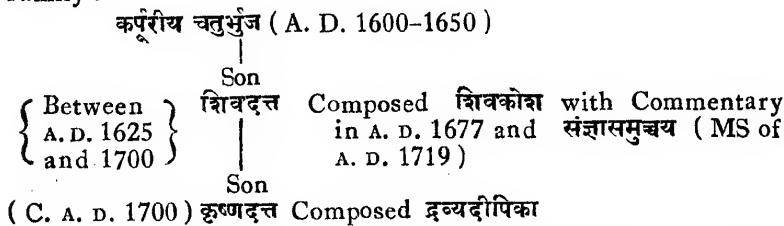
folio 33—"विश्ववदित्तचतुर्भुजातावासविद्यशिवदत्तसुतस्य । कृष्ण-  
दत्तः कृतिनः कृतिरेषा "

It is clear from this colophon that कृष्णदत्त was the son of शिवदत्त, who was himself the son of चतुर्भुज. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Kṛṣṇadatta refers to his own authorship of the work as follows :—

"त्रिमलभट्टरचितो यो द्रव्यगुणसंग्रहः ।

कृष्णदत्तेन तटीका क्रियते द्रव्यदीपिका ॥ २ ॥ "

On the strength of the data gathered so far we can reconstruct the following genealogy and chronology of Śivadatta's family :—



1. Vide my paper on the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Annals* (Tirupati Ori. Institute) Vol. I, pp. 117-127. Bhānuji was a contemporary of Varadarāja, the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji (Vide my paper in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 188-199).

2. Trimalla flourished between A. D. 1383 and 1499 according to Prof. H. D. Velankar (Vide p. 59 the Catalogue of B. B. R. A. Society MSS, Vol. I (1925) — MS No. 175 of *Dravyaguṇaśataslokī* ).

Aufrecht has already pointed out that शिवदत्तमिश्र is mentioned in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*. This work has now been published.<sup>1</sup> In the list of Benares Pandits whose tributes to Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati<sup>2</sup> are recorded in the above work we find the name of शिवदत्तमिश्र. The identity of this शिवदत्तमिश्र with his namesake the author of the *Śivakośa* needs to be examined. *Śivakośa* was composed in A. D. 1677 by Śivadatta and it is highly probable that this author who was a junior contemporary of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati may have joined other Benares Pandits in their chorus of congratulations offered to Kavīndrācārya on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax at Benares through the successful intervention of Kavīndrācārya with Emperor Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628-1658)

The editors of the *Kavīndracandrodaya* make the following remarks regarding Śivadatta Miśra in their Introduction (p. viii):—

“ 44. *Śivadatta Miśra*, son of Caturbhuja, author of *Śivakośa* written in 1677 and *Samjnā Samuccaya* (med.) (CC. I, 649a). Prose passages 1-14 on p. 26.”

Evidently they tentatively follow the identification of the Ś. Miśra of the *Kavīndracandrodaya* with his namesake, the author of the *Śivakośa* as suggested by Aufrecht. We have, however, to see if the prose passages ascribed to Śivadatta Miśra furnish any conclusive proof about this identity. My examination of prose passages shows nothing in them to prove the above identity except the identity of names indicated by the expression.

“ शिवदत्तमिश्राणमेताश्चतुर्भुजप्रशस्यनुपूर्वः ”

Prof. Velankar describes a MS<sup>3</sup> of a commentary on the *Rasahṛdaya* of Govinda. This commentary was composed by one चतुर्भुजमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र of the Kurala family (कुरलवशपर्योध). Has this चतुर्भुजमिश्र of the कुरलवश any connection with the कर्पूरीयचतुर्भुजमिश्र? This question cannot be answered at present.

1. Edited by Dr. Hara Datta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar, published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1939.

2. Vide my paper on “ *Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati at the Mughal Court* ” (*Annals of the S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati*, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 1-16).

3. Vide p. 64 of *Cata. of B. B. R. A. Society's MSS* Vol. I. (1925)—MS No. 192. One चतुर्भुज composed his रसकल्पद्रुम in Sarīvat 1705 = A. D. 1649 (Vide p. XXXV of Stein's *Kashmir Catalogue*) for Shāyastā Khān.

## N ARENDRAPURI, A FORGOTTEN ADVAITIN

( E. P. Radhakrishnan, M.A. )

In the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* of Mādhaba, mention is made of one Narendragiri as having commented on a syllogism of the famous *Vivarāṇa*, thus :—

‘नरेन्द्रगिरिश्रीचरणस्त्वत्थमुक्तम्—अप्रकाशितप्रकाशव्यवहारहेतुत्वं हेत्वर्थः। तस्य च उभयत्रानुगतत्वात् न असिद्धधादि:— इति ।

( Ānanda. Edn. p. 169. )

The anumāna in question on which the view of Narendrapuri is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*, is the famous syllogism from the *Vivarāṇa* of Prakāśātman.

विवादपदं प्रमाणज्ञानं स्वप्रागभावव्यतिरिक्तं-स्वविषयावरणस्वनिवर्थं-स्वदेवागतस्वन्तरपूर्वकम्, अप्रकाशितार्थप्रकाशकत्वात्, अन्धकारे प्रथमोत्पन्नप्रदीप-प्रभावत् ।

This syllogism of Prakāśātman was subject to various types of criticism from many quarters and Narendragiri is introduced here as definitely defending it against the charge of *hetvasiddhi*. Thus from the above reference we are able to know that Narendra probably wrote a commentary on Prakāśātman's *Vivarāṇa*. This is only a very cautious inference, unsupported by facts; and hence not very valid, though it cannot be easily disproved. Nowhere is the commentary on the *Vivarāṇa* by Narendra found either in manuscript or even seen as referred to.

Who can be this Narendra? This question will be taken up now. Amṛtabhārati in his commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* of Anubhūtisvara rūpācārya, mentions one previous commentator on the *Sārasvataprakriyā*, by name Narendranagari.

यन्नरेन्द्रनगरीप्रभाषितं यच्च वैमलसरस्वतीरितम् ।

तन्मयात्र लिखितं तथाधिकं किञ्चिदेव कलितं स्वया धिया ॥

Vīṭhala, about 1450 A.D. in his *Prākṛtakaumudīprasāda*, refers to one Narendrācārya and gives a long quotation from him.<sup>2</sup> This quotation, however, is not found in the *Sārasvata-*

1. Narendragiri is a mistake, perhaps for Narendranagari.

2. See p. 538, Vol. I. of *Prākṛtakaumudīprasāda*, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakṛt Series Edn.

*prakriyā*. Hence the view that probably Narendra was the author of the *Sārasvataprakriyā*, as seems to be upheld by Amṛtabhāratī and by Kṣemendra, falls to the ground. Kṣemendra directly attributes the *Sārasvataprakriyā* to Narendra.

प्रोक्ता नरेन्द्रनगरीमुनिभिः सुवन्धैः

या प्रक्रिया क्षिण्मनःपरिबोधहेतोः ।

See also नरेन्द्राचार्यसारस्वते (Kṣemendra).<sup>1</sup>

The verse of Amṛtabhāratī, viz., यच्चरेन्द्रनगरीप्रभाषितम् mentioned above has also been taken by some in the sense that Narendra wrote *Sārasvataprakriyā*. The above verse need not necessarily be understood in that sense. It can also yield the meaning that Narendra probably wrote a commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpa and Amṛtabhāratī, when he refers to Narendra only means the commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* by Narendra.

Further, the supposition that Narendra is identical with Ānubhūtisvarūpa, as a means of getting over this difficulty, finds an explicit contradiction elsewhere. For Prajñānānanda, a disciple of Ānandajñāna or Janārdana, in his commentary on Janārdana's *Tattvāloka*, salutes both Anubhūtisvarūpa and Narendranagarī.

तस्यानुग्रहपात्रासुपगते बुंसि प्रगल्भा गिरा  
 स्वायते भवभूतभीतिभिदुरज्ञानोद्भवे चात्मना ।  
 बोधद्वैधविधायितर्कतिभिरच्छेदद्वयद्वैतिनं  
 तं वन्देऽनुभवस्वरूपयमिन्स्मृत्याखिलाभीष्टदम् ॥  
 कीर्तिर्यस्य चतुर्दशापि भुवनान्याकम्य भेजे प्रिया  
 प्रीत्याश प्रतिभाऽपरा प्रणथिनी स्थानानि विद्यासुवः ।  
 तावन्त्येव ततानि तानि बुझे स्वाराज्यभाजो भरात्  
 स्पर्धात्सस्तनं(?) नरेन्द्रनगरीनामामृतं नौमि तम् ॥

(Cat. of MSS. in BBRAS. 1105: See also Peterson Report III, p. 208 where the Ms. is dated Saṃvat 1432)

From the concluding portion we are to understand that Anubhūtisvarūpa was perhaps, the paramaguru of Prajñānānanda. If this contention is right, the tradition that Ānandajñāna or

1. P. xi., Tripathi's Intro. to *Tarkasaṅgraha* of Ānandajñāna, G. O. S. No. 3.

Janārdana, the author of the *Tattvāloka* was a disciple of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya could be acceptable. It would also accord with tradition that Prajñānānanda was a disciple of Ānandajñāna. This fact has been referred to be Prajñānānanda himself.

यदुकं गुरुभिः सम्यक् तत्त्वालोके तु तन्मया ।  
निबन्धीक्रियते भवत्या दृष्ट्वप्राप्त्यै यथास्मृति ॥

But there seems to be some difficulty in accepting these statements as correct. For, in the end Prajñānānanda refers to one Prajñānasvarūpa as his guru and Anubhūtisvarūpa as his paramaguru.

यस्यानुग्रहमात्रेण वार्गीशत्वसमुद्भवः ।  
किं प्रज्ञानस्वरूपं तं न जाने गुरुमुत्तमम् ॥  
प्रतिभाचन्द्रिकाचन्द्रं प्रोल्हसल्कीर्तिवल्लभम् ।  
अनुभूतिस्वरूपं तं प्रणमीभि गुरुं परम् ॥  
प्रज्ञानाननन्दयतिना कृता तत्त्वप्रकाशिका ।  
तत्त्वालोकस्य टीकेयं संतोषं तनुतात्सताम् ॥

Whether the Prajñānasvarūpa referred to above is the same as Ānandajñāna or whether both were co-disciples under Anubhūtisvarūpa are questions not to be hastily settled from the data available to us now. One clear fact is that Anubhūtisvarūpa was the paramaguru of Prajñānānanda.

It is thus clear that Anubhūtisvarūpa is a different personality from Narendranagarī. From Amṛtabhārati's reference to Narendranagarī one thing is certain, that Narendra had something to do with the Sārasvata system of grammar.

Let us now proceed to examine this problem. Puñjarāja wrote a commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā*. (Ms. No. 4440 of Des. Cat. of RASB. Gr. Volume). In that he quotes one verse from Narendrapuri thus :

“ सूत्रसप्तशतीं यस्य ददौ साक्षात् सरस्वती ।  
अनुभूतिस्वरूपाय तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ ”  
इति श्रीनरेन्द्रपुरीयश्रीचरणैस्त्वात् ।

The nature of this reference is such that it seems only correct to conclude that Narendrapuri was a disciple of Anubhūtisvarūpa. It is also in the fitness of things for a disciple to write an expository commentary on the teacher's work. In the

light of this piece of evidence also, Amṛtabhārati's reference to Narendra has to be understood to refer to Narendra's commentary on Anubhūtisvarūpa's *Sārasvatapratyakriyā*.

Narendrapuri has written a *tippana* on the *Īśavāsyabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara. The colophon of a manuscript<sup>1</sup> of the *Īśavāsyabhāṣyatippana* mentions Narendrapuri as the author. The colophon runs :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीभगवेन्द्रपुरीविरचितेशावास्यभाष्यटीका समाप्ता ।

The MS. begins :

येनात्मना परेणशाव्यासं विश्वमशेषतः ।

सोऽहं देहद्वयी साक्षी वर्जितो देहतद्वृणः ॥

ईशावास्यभित्यादिमन्त्रान् व्याचित्यसुः भगवान् भाष्यकारः तेषां कर्म-शेषत्वाशक्तां तावद्बुद्ध्यति । etc.

It ends :

यस्मादर्थान्तरं न सङ्गच्छते तस्मादित्युपसंहारः ।

ईशाप्रभृतिभाष्यस्य शङ्करस्य महामानः ।

मन्दोपकृतिसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रणीतं दिप्पणं स्फुटम् ॥

But difficulties set in in quick succession. The *tippana* on the *Īśavāsyabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, printed in the Ānandāśrama edition and ascribed to Ānandagiri, exactly corresponds, word for word with the text of this manuscript, except that in the Ānandāśrama edition the usual colophon beginning with Śuddhā-nandapūjyapāda Śiṣya etc. associated with Ānandagiri is found instead of the colophon mentioning Narendrapuri as the author, as given above. Again the Madras MSS. of this *tippana*<sup>2</sup> are described in the Descriptive Catalogue where the authorship of the *tippana* is attributed to one Śivānandayati on the authority of a verse to that effect, found inside one MS.

भगवपादभाष्यस्य भावगामीयवेदिना ।

शिवानन्द्यतशेन दिप्पणं कृतमादरात् ॥

This verse is found towards the very end. Except for this verse, no other colophon is found in these manuscripts; but the

1. No. 1, Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency, by R. G. Bhandarkar, Pt. I. 1893.

2. D. Nos. 312, 313, 314, 315, of the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library.

whole text of these manuscripts is in full accordance with Ānandagiri's *tippaṇa* as printed in the Ānandāśrama edition.

On the authority of this fact contained in the Madras MSS. Catalogue, in the new series of the Tanjore Descriptive Catalogues of manuscripts too, we find the same *tippaṇa* ascribed to Śivānanda.

In the Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, Vol. IV, No. 39 the title is found as ईपाचास्य-भाष्यटिप्पण—प्रकार्थकारीय. An examination of the contents shows that it is the same as the *tippaṇa* referred to above and usually ascribed to Ānandagiri. Thus it is not easy to decide who the real author of the *Isāvāsyabhbāṣyatippaṇa* was whether Ānandagiri, Narendrapuri, Śivānandayati or Prakaṭārthakāra.

Difficulties thicken as we proceed to examine the *tippaṇas* on the other Upaniṣadbhbāṣyas also, usually associated with the name of Ānandagiri.

(1) All the manuscripts<sup>1</sup> in the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library of the *Kaṭhopaniṣadbhbāṣyatippaṇa*, correspond to the Ānandāśrama edition of Ānandagiri's *tippaṇa*. But one, manuscript<sup>2</sup> has the following colophon, mentioning Śivānanda as the author of the *tippaṇa*:

इति शाङ्करस्य काठकोपनिषद्भाष्यस्य टिप्पणं समाप्तम् ।  
पाशीकृतात्मसंसूतिराशिच्छेदग्रवृत्तचित्तानाम् ।  
कोशीकृतसुकृतानां काशीप्रासिभवेन्नृणां लोके ॥  
भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगाम्भीर्यवेदिना ।  
शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृतमादरात् ॥

This last verse is found, however, in the beginning also.

(2) Of the *Muṇḍakopaniṣadbhbāṣyatippaṇa*, there are two manuscripts<sup>3</sup> in the Government Ori. MSS. Library, Madras. The beginning is very interesting to note. It begins with

पाशीकृतात्मसंसूतिराशिच्छेदग्रवृत्तचित्तानाम् ।  
कोशीकृतसुकृतानां काशीप्रासिभवेन्नृणां लोके ॥  
यदक्षरं परं ब्रह्म विद्यागम्भमितीरितम् ।  
यस्मिन् ज्ञाते भवेत् ज्ञातं सर्वं तत्स्यामसंज्ञयम् ॥  
ब्रह्मोपनिषद्भौपनिषदाद्या अथर्ववेदस्य बहूच्य उनिषदः सन्ति । etc.

1. D. 345, 346 and R. 3882 g.

2. D. 346.

3. D. 722; 723.

The prose portion is the same as Ānandagiri's tippaṇa. Towards the end of the MS. D. 723 are found the following two verses :

चिदानन्दैरिदं काश्यां लिखितवा व्रेणितं मुदा ।  
चोलदेशस्थभिसूणामुपकाशय केवलम् ॥  
भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगांभीर्यवेदिना ।  
शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृतमादरात् ॥

One mentions Śivānanda as the author of the tippaṇa and the other says that the tippaṇa was written (perhaps the manuscript of the tippaṇa and not the tippaṇa itself) at Benares by one Cidānanda and sent to the country of Coḷa for the help of the ascetics there.

This reference is much confusing as it cannot be ascertained whether Śivānanda is the real author of the tippaṇa or only the scribe, as there is every likelihood of confusing Cidānanda with Śivānanda. If this is right, then Śivānanda can be removed from the circle of commentators. But the nature and tone of the second verse is such that this supposition, that Śivānanda is a mistake for Cidānanda, or even *vice versa* seems untenable.

(3) The *Taittiriyaka bhāṣyāṭīkā*, in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series, by Haraprasada Sastri, Vol. IV, No. 114, is found to begin thus :

यत् प्रकाशसुखाभिन्नं यन्मन्त्रेण प्रकाशितम् ।  
विवृतं ब्राह्मणे ब्रह्म तत्स्था..... दृश्यनिर्भयम् ॥

यजुवेदशास्त्राभेदं तैत्तिरीयकोपनिषदं व्याचिल्यासुर्भगवान् भाष्यकारः  
तत्प्रतिपाद्य ब्रह्म जगज्ञमादिकारणत्वेन तटस्थलक्षणेन मन्दभतीन् प्रति सामान्येनो-  
पलक्षितं सत्यज्ञानादिना च स्वरूपलक्षणेन विशेषतो विनिश्चितं नमस्कारच्छलेन  
संक्षेपतो दर्शयति —यस्माजातिभिति ।

The beginning is identical with that of Ānandagiri's tippaṇa, printed in the Ānandāśrama Series. But the colophon in the Hpr. MS. is very interesting as it attributes the tippaṇa definitely to Prakaṭārthakāra. The colophon reads :

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीप्रकटार्थकारविरचिता भृगुवली-  
भाष्यटीका समाप्ता ।

(4) The *Kenopaniṣad-bhāṣyatippaṇa* too is not only not different, but word by word identical with the printed text in the Ānandāśrama Series, which is attributed to Ānandagiri. But here also as in the case of the MSS. of the other tippaṇas, the general colophon found in the Ānandāśrama edition, associated with the name of Ānandagiri is missing.

(5) In the *Talavakāropaniṣad-bhāṣyatippaṇa* which is divided into two sections, namely *Padabhāṣyatippaṇa* and *Vākyārthapradhānaṭippaṇa*, the text agrees verbatim with Ānandagiri's tippaṇa. The beginning as found in Hpr. IV, 106. is :

यच्छ्रोत्रादेवधिष्ठानं चक्षुर्वांगाद्यगोचरम् ।  
स्वतोऽद्यक्षं परं ब्रह्म नित्यमुक्तं भवामि तत् ॥

केनेषितमित्यादिकां तलवकारशास्त्रोपनिषदं व्याचिल्यासु मंगवान् भाष्य-  
कारोऽहं प्रत्ययगोचरस्यात्मनः संसारित्वात् असंसारित्रह्यभावस्य उपनिषत्प्रतिपाद्य-  
त्वासंभवात् निर्विषयत्वात् अव्याख्येयत्वमाशङ्क्य अहंकारसाक्षिणः संसारित्वग्राहक-  
प्रमाणविषयत्वात् ब्रह्मताप्रतिपादने विरोधासंभवात् सविषयत्वात् व्याख्येयत्वं  
प्रतिजानीते केनेषितमित्यादिना ।

The end is found :—

थो वै सर्वेश्वरो विष्णुः सर्वात्मा सर्वदर्शनः ।  
शुद्धो बोधाम्बुधिः साक्षात् सोऽहं नित्योऽभयः प्रभुः ॥  
इत्थं तलवकारस्यं भाष्ये शङ्करनिर्मिते ।  
पदभाष्यभिधानेऽस्मिन् निरमाणि सुटिषणम् ॥

The Colophon : तलवकारोपनिषद्यच्छ्रुतराष्ट्राभ्याख्यात्या ।

The same tippaṇa as found in the Madras Government. Oriental MSS. Library<sup>1</sup> also has two parts. The above extracts are from the *Padabhāṣyatippaṇa*. The latter portion, viz., the *Vākyārthapradhānaṭippaṇa*, as found in this MS.<sup>2</sup> begins :

प्रयत्नाच्यन्तरेणैव मन आदेः प्रवर्तकम् ।  
विदिताविदितान्यत्वसिद्धं ब्रह्माहमद्यम् ॥  
केनेषितमित्यादिकां सामवेदशास्त्राभेदब्राह्मणोपनिषदं पदशो व्याख्यायापि  
न तुतोष भाष्यकारः etc.

D. No. 392 contains an additional verse in the end,

1. MD. 389. 390. 391. 392. R. 1478 e. 3882 f.

2. See also Hpr. IV, No. 66.

भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगांभीर्येदिना ।

शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृतमादरात् ॥

informing that Śivānanda is the author of the ṭippaṇa.

(6) The MS. of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhaṣyaṭippaṇa* also gives us the author as Śivānandayati. The ṭippaṇa begins :

परवागन्तनिगच्छ भूमभूमा प्रथमोऽनुहृत्वद्बज्जसाक्षिसाक्षी ।  
प्रथितालङ्कृतिमण्डलान्तरस्थः परिवेषान्तरभानुमानिवास्ते ॥

विसुज्जति शमयेयो वीक्षणाद्विश्विश्वं

फलयति जनकर्मण्यण्डदेहान्तदेहैः ।

तुलयति जडधीः स्याद्य विरिञ्चादिभिस्ते ॥

कलयति मम चेतः कामहन्तारभन्तः ॥

ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्च बृहत्वात् बृहदारण्यकनामभेदोपनिषद्भुररीकृत्य शिष्टाचारा-  
नुमित्तमूलविज्ञध्वसित्समाप्त्यादिग्रह्योजनशास्त्रप्रतिपाद्यप्रत्यगमित्तमूलित्रयोपलक्षित -  
परमानन्दपरदेवतागुर्वादिप्रमाणलक्षणं etc.

Col. : इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्छिवानन्दकृते बृहदारण्यक-  
भाष्यटिप्पणे षष्ठोऽध्याथः ।

भगवत्पादभाष्यस्य भावगांभीर्येदिना ।

शिवानन्दयतीशेन टिप्पणं कृतमादरात् ॥

Thus in all these cases there is a confusion of authorship of the ṭippaṇas, and the real author is not likely to be decided unless and until greater and fuller information is made available about these authors.

But when we come to the Chāndogyopaniṣadbhaṣya, there is a separate ṭippaṇa available on it. The author of this ṭippaṇa is Narendrapuri. A manuscript of this ṭippaṇa is available in the Madras Oriental MSS. Library.<sup>1</sup> This is a very interesting manuscript as it supplies us with some details about Bhāskara's little known Bhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad ; also it refers to the Prakaṭārtha in two places, so that Narendrapuri and Prakaṭārthakāra can be differentiated.

The earliest ṭippaṇa on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad so far known to the world of scholars is by Ānandagiri.

1. R. 3690. Another MS. is available in the Berlin Library. See Weber's Catalogue p. 70. Auf. in his C. C. I, p. 193a gives this as an anonymous ṭippaṇa ; but a comparison of the extracts of this as described by Weber with those of R. 3690 shows the two as identical.

This *tippaṇī* is still earlier. It is generally very lucid and is very relevant without unnecessary digressions. It may be studied carefully for a more ancient view of Śaṅkarabhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad, and it would be advantageous to take up a comparative study of Śaṅkara's bhāṣya in the light of Narendrapuri's *tippaṇī* and that of Ānandagiri. It may be utilised also to understand, how far Ānandagiri utilises earlier commentators on Śaṅkara, and to know how far he sticks to tradition in his exposition of Śaṅkara's view.

For acquainting the reader with fuller details regarding the nature of the *tippaṇī*, I shall give below only the beginning and end of the *tippaṇī* as also a list of the quotations found in it in extenso, reserving to a future occasion, a comparative study of it with *tippaṇī* of Ānandagiri. It begins :

सद्गुणं ब्रह्म निर्देत्वा श्रेतकेतुर्यदन्वयात् ।  
तदहं सत्स्वभावत्वात् ज्ञाता शुद्धोऽभ्यः प्रभुः ॥  
छन्दोगानामुपनिषदेदं व्याचिल्यासुभगवान् भाष्यकारो व्याचिल्यासितग्रन्थ-  
स्वरूपं व्याख्यारंभे अवान्तरप्रयोजनं च दर्शयति—ओमित्येतदिति ।  
वासुदेवोऽस्मि सर्वज्ञस्सर्वात्मा सर्वभावनः ।  
नित्यबोधोऽद्वयः सत्यः सूक्ष्मः शुद्धोऽभ्यः प्रभुः ॥  
छान्दोग्यभाष्यमधिकृत्य सदद्वितीयवस्तूपादनपरं चिदुचां हिताय ।  
सट्टिष्पणं मञ्जु नरेन्द्रपुरीयतीश्वके सुबोधमिति कोमलवाक्यजातैः ॥

The latter half is not correct metre. Anyway we have the fact that Narendrapuri wrote this *tippaṇī*.

#### CITATIONS

- Ślokavārttika, p. 2.
- Ekadésinah, p. 3.
- Prakaṭartha, pp. 4. 53. 61.
- Gītā, pp. 5. 86.
- Vṛttikāra, p. 6. 9. 22. 54. 91. 99.
- Yajñavalkya, p. 7.
- Sākalya, p. 7.
- Bhāskara, p. 10. 13. 52. 58. 60. 73. 83. 84. 86.
- Sālāvatyamata, p. 15.

1. R. 3690 reads निर्धेत् to which a tentative correction is given in the Des. Cat. as निर्हेतु ; the Weber MS. gives the correct reading निर्देत्.

Vaiṣṇava, p. 51.

Smṛti, p. 53.

Tridaṇḍī, p. 69. 86.

Vāhaṭa, p. 94.

In addition to all these we have a Com. on the Nyāyadipāvali of Ānandabodha, also attributed to Narendrapuri.<sup>1</sup> The Com. is called Candrikā. The MS. is written in disorder<sup>2</sup> and from a verse found in the middle of the commentary it is possible to make out the author as Narendrapuri. The verse runs :

श्रीनरेन्द्रपुरी नाम यतिश्चके स चन्द्रिकाम् ।  
हितार्थाय हि मन्दानां सन्तोषार्थं विजानताम् ॥

But really this commentary was written by Anubhūtisvarūpa. In all the other works of Anubhūtisvarūpa available to us the deity Hayagrīva is propitiated in the beginning as the Iṣṭadevatā. So also in this we find an invocation to God Turagagrīva in the beginning :

करोतु तुरग्रीवो माकरः करुणां मयि ।  
सुरासुरशिरोहरिरस्त्वभ्राजिपदास्त्वुजः ॥

The extracts also correspond to the commentary called Candrikā by Anubhūtisvarūpa on the Nyāyadipāvali available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute,<sup>3</sup> Poona, and the Bikaner State Library.<sup>4</sup>

Further on p. 52 of the MS. on which is found the verse telling us that Narendrapuri is the author, are found two more verses thus :

श्रीमदानन्दबोधीयकृतीभस्य सुधीमता ।  
पन्थाः प्रदर्शितो येन तस्मै श्रीगुरुवे नमः ॥  
श्रीनरेन्द्रपुरी नाम यतिश्चकार चन्द्रिकाम् ।  
हितार्थाय हि मन्दानां सन्तोषार्थं विजानताम् ॥

1. For a ms. of this see MD. 15306.

2. The text and Com. are intermingled and confused, no indication being made in writing them. The Com. begins on p. 1, runs to line 6. p. 2; then begins in line 15 p. 17 and goes up to the end of line 8 p. 70.

3. 766 of 1891-95.

4. Mitra, Catalogue, p. 557, where it is wrongly ascribed to Sukha-prakāśa.

क्षिसौ भक्त्या यत(ः) श्लोकौ सुधिया तत्र केनचित् ।  
तत्पादसेवकेनेमौ नातो हयौ सुपण्डितैः ॥

These inform us that Narendrapuri wrote the commentary and he was guided in the path of understanding the work of Ānandabodha by his guru ( i. e. Anubhūtisvarūpa ). But the last verse says that the foregoing two verses are interpolations in the original by the disciple of the real author and hence should not be rejected. So much so there is every probability as well as possibility to think that Anubhūtisvarūpa is the author, though we are not quite certain about the ascription of it to Narendrapuri. The fact seems to be that it is a combined work of both the teacher and disciple though we are not quite certain about the exact parts written by each separately.

To recapitulate the results contained in the foregoing :

( 1 ) We know for certain that Narendrapuri was altogether a different personality from Anubhūtisvarūpa. He was earlier than Ānandagiri; he was different from the author of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa and probably from Śivānanda too.

( 2 ) Among his works, the tīppaṇa on the Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya is available. The Iśavāsyabhāṣyatīppaṇa, though in one MS. the colophon gives the author as Narendrapuri, the authorship cannot be established beyond doubt, as the tīppaṇa corresponds to Ānandagiri's gloss and as the same text is found ascribed in some other MSS. to one Śivānandayati. His com. on the Nyāyadipāvāli of Ānandabodha, too, is not beyond doubt; probably it was the combined production of the teacher and disciple, Anubhūtisvarūpa and Narendrapuri, or that it was written by Narendrapuri under guidance from Anubhūtisvarūpa. Regarding his commentary on the Vivaraṇa of Prakāśatman, no MS. of it is yet available and the only reference is found in the Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha. His contribution to the Sārasvata system of grammar is considerable and he wrote a com. on the Sārasvataprakriyā of Anubhūtisvarūpa. He played a very important part in the development of this system of grammar. Probably he also wrote tīppaṇas on the other Upaniṣadbhāṣyas of Saṅkara, but they are now lost to us or the authorship is confused and cannot be determined with the data available to us now.

## APPENDIX

Citations in full from the Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣyaṭippaṇī of Narendrapurī.

p. 2. मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत् तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः ।  
नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात् प्रत्यवायजिहासथा ॥ ( Śl. Vār. p. 671.)

p. 3. यच्चाहुरेकवेशिनः ‘कर्मसमुच्चितमद्वैतात्मदर्शनं मोक्षसाधनमुपनिषद्ग्रथः’  
इति, तदपि कर्मणः क्षणिषुकलत्वाभिधानादेव निरस्तम् ।

p. 4. इति वर्जितं प्रकारक ? )टार्येनेह प्रपञ्चते ।

p. 5. “तस्मादोभिल्युदाहत्य यज्ञदानतपःकियाः ।  
प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥  
स्वत्यनोक्तं पूर्वं परस्माच्च विशीर्यते ।” इत्यादिस्मृतेः । Gītā

p. 6. जाते: परिप्रश्नः इति विग्रहानङ्गीकारे वृत्तिकारीयमुदाहरणं विरुद्धते ।

p. 7. त्रयस्त्रीं शब्दो वा इति याज्ञवल्येनोक्ते अनुमतिं चकार शाकल्यः ।

p. 9. अङ्गिरस्वबृहस्पत्ययास्यत्वगुणप्राणदृष्टिविशिष्टोद्दीयोपासनविधानार्थमुत्तरं  
वाक्यं इति वृत्तिकाराभिप्रायेण सम्बन्धमाह ।

p. 10. यच्च भास्करेण वैलक्षण्यमुक्तं गुणत्रयविशिष्टः प्रजापतिरोक्तारालम्बन  
उपासन (?) आन्दोग्ये, ऐतरेयके तु सर्वांतस्य इति; तदसत् ।

p. 13. आदित्यमवधिं कृत्वा पराञ्छोऽवाञ्छः इत्येतौ शब्दो भास्करेण व्याख्यातौ ।  
तदसत् ।

p. 15. अन्तवृक्षदोषेण शालावत्यमतस्य निर्णीतत्वात् स्वमते तदभावमाह—  
अत एवेति ।

p. 22. स्वाभिप्रायेण व्याख्याय वृत्तिकारव्याख्यामनुवदति अत्राहुरित्यादिना ।

p. 22. समुच्चयानुष्ठायी ब्रह्मसंख्यः इति वृत्तिकारमते समुच्चयावद्यमेन दूषयति  
— न कर्मेति ।

p. 51. तथा वैष्णवम्—  
“अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि यतीनामूर्धरेतसाम् ।  
स्तुतं स्थानं तु यत्तेषां तदेव गुरुवासिनाम् ॥”

p. 52. यदत्र भास्कर आह—ब्रह्मशब्दस्य मूलकारणे मुख्यत्वात् न कार्यं ब्रह्म  
गमयत्यमानवः —इति, तदसत् ।

p. 53. “ब्रह्माहा ब्राह्मणं हत्वा वेदं ब्रह्म च द्वेष्टि यः ।  
अभूतब्रह्मवादी च यत्र ते ब्रह्मातकाः ॥” इतिस्मृतेः ।

p. 53. ग्रमाणप्रतिपञ्चस्य अभूतत्वाभिधानात् । निरस्तश्चायं विस्तरेण प्रकटार्थे इत्युपरम्यते ।

p. 54. ग्रसङ्गात् चिरन्तनवृत्तिकारमत्सुजात्य दूषयति ।

p. 58. अश्वपतिवृत्तसंकीर्तनमात्मविदां कर्मानुष्टानदार्ढार्थं इति भास्करोक्तम-  
सारम् ।

p. 60. नामधेयं चाभिधानमिति चकारप्रक्षेपेण पूर्वापरासङ्गतं भास्करो व्याचचक्षे;  
तदसत् ।

p. 60. तस्मात्सकरादप्यपकृष्टोऽयं भास्करः ।

p. 61. सत्यानुत्तजाददयोः अवाध्यबाधतागोचरत्वेन शुक्तिवत् तद्वज्ञातादिषु प्रसिद्ध-  
त्वात् । अनित्ये च घटादौ ते न; हैतिभित्र अनुत्तत्वव्यवहरणात् ।  
विस्तृतं चैतत् प्रकटार्थे इत्युपरम्यते ।

p. 62. अत एवोक्तम्—  
“ चतुष्कोटिनिमुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदुः । ” इति ।

p. 64. तदुक्तम्—  
“ यदस्ति तद्वज्ञाति तदात्मरूपं  
नान्यत्तत्वे भाति न चान्यदस्ति ।  
स्वभावसंवित् प्रतिभाति केवला  
ग्राह्यं गृहीतेति मृष्टैव कल्पना ॥ ” इति ।

p. 69. त्रिदण्डी तु पण्डितमन्यो धाष्टर्यात् बभण्डे कारणे प्रविष्टं अनित्यदृष्टि-  
पथादपगतम् etc.

p. 73. ऐतदात्म्य मित्यत्यन्ताभेदव्यावृत्यर्थः भास्करेण व्याख्यायि । तदसत् ।

p. 82. उक्तं हि—  
“ यत्र यत्र गता दृष्टिः यत्र यत्र गतं मनः ।  
तत्र तत्र शिरं शान्तं पश्यन्तो वेदपारगाः ॥ ” इति ।

p. 83. यदत्र भास्करेणाभिहितं—श्रुत्यक्षरशून्यं अर्थापत्तिशून्यं च प्राणानुत्तत्व-  
व्याख्यानं लोकप्रतारणायैव इति, तत्स्य सत्यविशेषणसामर्थ्यापरिज्ञान-  
विजृभितम् ।

p. 84. भास्करः पुनः ऐश्वर्यलक्षणमानन्दं भूम्नो गुणं व्याख्ययौ । तत्स्य  
विषयविलासवासितत्वं लक्ष्यति ।

p. 86. तेजोऽवन्नरूपेण त्रिभेदैरिति । त्रयाणां भेदैः शब्दस्पर्शाद्विभिरित्यर्थः ।

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एतै रहितत्वं शुद्धत्वमिति व्याख्याय भास्करेण शाङ्करव्याख्यानमद्दृष्टिः ।

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अहो घटोऽयं त्रिदण्डी ( Bhāskara ) यः ( यत् ? ) पदार्थानभिज्ञोऽपि  
ग्रन्थं कृत्वा स्थातिमुदगतः etc.

p. 86. तदुक्तं गीतायां—

रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।

p. 91. अतो 'ब्रह्मचर्येणाङ्गी ज्ञानसुपलक्ष्य स्तूयते' इति वृत्तिकारव्याख्यानमूर्त्या-  
पयति "अत्र त्व मिन्द" इत्यादिना ।

p. 94. तद्वतं सौरं तेजो व्यतिरिक्तं पितं ( MS वितं ? )

पर्णविद्वाशो रसस्य हेतुः कहाभिधात्वन्तर (Sic.)—

सहकारित्वात् । तदुक्तं वाहटेन—

"आमाशयगतं पितं रञ्जकं रसरञ्जनात् ।" इति ।

p. 99. जीवानुवादेन पर्यायचतुष्येऽपि ब्रह्मभावो विधीयते इति स्वाभिप्रायेण  
ग्राजापत्यवाक्यं व्याख्याय वृत्तिकृतां व्याख्यानमनुवदति —य एष  
इत्यादिना ।

# TITHIVIVEKA OF SŪLAPĀṇI

CRITICALLY EDITED FOR THE FIRST TIME

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( Continued from Vol. VI, Nos. 3 & 4 )

10 प्रायेणोदयगामितिथे: पूर्वाह्नसंबन्धादस्तत्यापितिथेशापराह्नसंबन्धात् । लक्षणाकरणं च “पूर्वाह्नो वै देवानां मध्यंदिनं मनुष्याणां अपराह्नः पितृणा”मिति कूपश्रुतिमूलवे संभवति मूलभूतश्रुत्यन्तरकल्पनापत्तिरेव । उक्तं च, “कल्पनातो लक्षणैव श्रेयसीति” । यथा धान्यमस्यधिकरणे धान्यमसि विज्ञुहि देवानिति । इष्टदि तण्डुलानावपतीति धान्यपदस्य मुख्यार्थत्वे 5 तण्डुलावापे नियुक्तस्यादृष्टार्थकल्पनापत्तेऽन्यपदे तण्डुललक्षणा स्वीकृता । एवं च यत्र तिथिद्वैषे पूर्वाह्नप्रासिस्तत्र दैवकृत्यं यत्रापराह्नप्रासिस्तत्र पितृकृत्यमिति वचनद्रव्यस्यार्थः ।

शुक्रपक्षे तिथिर्गाहा यस्यामम्युदितो रविः ॥

कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्गाहा यस्यामस्तमितो रविः ॥

10 इत्याभ्यां प्रायिकसंबन्धेन दैवपितृयकर्मणी लक्ष्यते । प्रायेण शुक्रपक्षे दैवकर्मणः कृष्णपक्षे पितृकर्मणोऽभिधानात् । तथा च श्रुतिः, पूर्वः पक्षो देवानामपरः पक्षः पितृणामिति । इयमपि लक्षणामूलभूतश्रुत्यन्तरकल्पनापत्तेरेव कार्या । एवं च पितृयमपि यत् कर्म पूर्वाह्नविहितं तद् यत्र पूर्वाह्नलाभस्तत्र कर्तव्यं, यथा 5 मंगलचतुर्थवितादि । यदा तु पूर्वाह्नपराह्नयोर्दिनद्रव्यप्रासिस्तदा कुत्र श्रियेति संदेहेऽपेक्षितविध्यनुरोधाद् युग्मवचनावसरः । तच्चन्यम् । द्विखण्डाखण्डतिथिसाधारणावेन पूर्वाह्नपराह्नयोर्दैवपितृयकर्मणोचरत्वेन प्राप्तवाद्, अखण्डतिथौ संक्षाप्ताभावात् । एतानि वचनानि निरर्थकानि रथ्यः । यथा नरसिंह-

4. B मन्त्रदृष्टार्थता for अदृष्टार्थ. 10. B इत्येताभ्यामपि शुक्रपदाभ्यां for इत्याभ्यां.

1. B विधानात् for अभिधानात्. 2. B drops इयमपि. 3. B drops लक्षणा. A drops यत्. 4. A adds यत् before the line and drops पूर्वाह्नविहितं तद् यत्र. 7. B यदा दिनद्रव्येऽपि पूर्वाह्नपराह्नयोः प्रासिरप्रासिर्वा for यदा.....प्रासिः, संदेहेति (?) for संदेहे. 8. A वुद्ध्यनुरोधात् for विध्यनुरोधात्, द्विखण्डतितिखण्ड for द्वि.....तिथि.

**पुराणे—**

दैवकार्याणि पूर्वाह्ने मनुष्याणां तु मध्यमे ।  
अपराह्ने पितृणां ही कार्याण्येतानि थत्वतः ॥

**मनुः—**

5 मैत्रं प्रसाधनं स्नानं दन्तधावनमंजनम् ।  
पूर्वाह्ने एव कुर्वते देवतानां च पूजनम् ॥

**शातातपः—**

दर्शश्राद्धं तु यत् ग्रोक्तं तत् पार्वणमुदाहतम् ।  
अपराह्ने पितृणां तु तत्र दानं प्रशस्यते ॥

10 यमः— पक्षान्ते निर्वपेत्तेम्योद्यपराह्ने तु धर्मवित् ।

मनुः— यथा चैवापरः पक्षः पूर्वपक्षाद् विशिष्यते ।

तथा श्राद्धस्य पूर्वाह्नादपराह्नो विशिष्यते ॥  
किं च, यदि पूर्वाह्नविहिते देवपितृकर्मणि पूर्वाह्नविधिः, अपराह्नविहिते  
देवपितृकर्मणि अपराह्नविधिस्तदा स्पष्टमेव पिष्टपेषणवैफल्यम् ।

अथ दैवकर्मविवक्षया पूर्वाह्नविधिस्तदा

5 यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्यास्तं याति च भास्करः ।  
सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानवतादिषु ॥

इति देवलवचनविरोधः । किं च, यदि मूलभूतश्रुत्यन्तरकल्पनाभयाद् लक्षणां  
कृत्वा श्रुतिस्मृत्योरेकवाक्यार्थाः स्थात्तदा प्रत्यक्षानुपलभ्यमानश्रुतिस्मूलानां  
नानास्मृतीनां गौण्या लक्षणया व्यावृत्या प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या समझेको वाक्यार्थः

10 स्यात् । प्रतीतसुख्यार्थानुपपर्या तथा कल्पनाया दृष्टार्थत्वात् नान्यथेति चेच्च  
प्रकृतेऽपि समानविषयत्वात् । अत एव शक्तयविकरणे व्रीहीन् ग्रोक्षतीति

1. B अनर्थकानि for नि.....नि. 2-3. A reads the verse thus—  
दैवकार्यस्य सर्वस्य पूर्वाह्नस्तु विधीयते । दैवकृत्यं तु पूर्वाह्ने मनुष्याणां च मध्यमे । अपराह्नेऽपि पितृणां कार्याण्येतानि थत्वतः ॥ 4. Omitted by A. 5-6. N. S. Press Ed. of the Manu Samhitā. Ch. IV. 152. 8. B पार्वणं तत् प्रकीर्तिं for तत्.....हृतम्. 8-10. Cannot be traced in the Vaṅgavāsi Eds. of the Śātātpāra and the Yamasamhitā respectively. 11. N. S. Press Ed. III. 238. 10. A drops तथा.

1. A omits चेच्च... विषयत्वात् and bet. अन्यथेति and अत एव inserts कल्पनाया अदृष्टार्थत्वाद्वक्षणा न्यायैवेति गौण्या कल्पनं नान्यथैवेति चेच्च प्रकृतेऽपि समानत्वात्. 2. B drops व्रीहीन्. 3. A विनियोग for नियोग. 4-7. B reads व्यस्तकसंपत्त्या (संमत्या ?) वाचकप्रदप्रयोगो for युग्म व्यस्त (L. 4).....प्रयोगो (L7). 7. B drops प्रयोगो. 9. B उभयास्त for उदयास्त.

द्वितीयावगतेज्ञितकर्मत्वानुपस्था व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षतीत्यत्र संस्कारकल्पना-  
व्रीहिपदे नियोगसाधनता लक्षणा च स्वीकृता । धान्यमसीति मन्त्रस्थाबो-  
धकतपत्तेरेव कल्पनां परिहत्य लक्षणापक्षः समाश्रितः । किं च, युग्मव्यस्त  
 5 तिथावेव संशयनिरासो न स्यात् । किं च, प्रत्यक्षमूतश्रुतिभूला नेत्रं स्तृति-  
रित्यन्नापि प्रमाणं नास्ति देशान्तरे च तदध्ययनस्य योग्यानुपलंभाभावात् ।  
किं च, स्वाथत्ते मुख्यपदप्रयोगे थदेकसंमस्यावाचकपदप्रयोगो बहुनां मुनी-  
 10 नामस्मिन् विषये तत्कल्पनामात्रं तस्मादास्तामयमनेकलक्षणादुष्टः पक्षः ।  
अन्येतु, “शुकुपक्षे तिथिग्राह्या” इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात् शुकुपक्षकृष्णपक्ष-  
भेदेनोदयास्तसंबन्धितिथिव्यवस्थामाहुः । षष्ठीसप्तम्योरेकादर्शादश्योश्च  
विशेषवचनविरोधात् । न पक्षभेदव्यवस्थेति तत्र युग्मवचनविरोधात् ।  
उच्यते । पूर्वाङ्गापराह्नयोर्दैवपित्र्यकर्मगोचरतया सामान्यवचनप्राप्तवाद्  
द्विखण्डतिथावपि यत्र पूर्वाङ्गापराह्नयोर्लभस्तत्रैव दैवपित्र्यकर्मानुष्टानमवि-  
वादिमिति । यदा दिनद्वयेऽपि पूर्वाङ्गापराह्नयोः प्राप्तिरप्राप्तिर्वा तदा प्रथम-  
 5 गृह्णपरिशिष्टदेवलवचनाम्यामुदयास्तसंबन्धेन व्यवस्था । न च युग्मवचन-  
विरोधः युग्मवचनस्यैकवाक्यतया “सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्रं यां तिथिं स मनु-  
प्राप्योदयं याति भास्कर” इत्यनयोर्गृह्णपरिशिष्टदेवलवचनयोर्द्वितीयायुग्म  
विषयत्वात् । “यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्यअस्तं याति च भास्कर” इत्येतस्य  
देवलवचनस्य द्वितीयायुग्मपरतिथिविषयत्वात् विरोधः । युग्मवचनाना-  
ग्रातास्तिथयस्तु कृष्णप्रतिपदुभयपक्षदशमीशुकुपत्रयोदश्यः, “शुकुपक्षे  
 10 तिथिग्राह्ये”त्यादि विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनविषयाः । पितृकृत्यं तु न युग्मवचन-  
विषयम् । “यथास्तं सविता याति पितरस्तामुपासत” इति वचनात्  
सामान्यविशेषन्यायेन तस्य देवकृत्यपरत्वात् । “उपोद्याः स्यु”रिति  
तत्रैव विशेषश्रुतेः पितृकृत्ये च पूर्वाङ्गमध्याह्नविहिते संशये विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-  
वचनात् शुकुपक्षकृष्णपक्षभेदेन व्यवस्था । उपवासः कथमित्यपराह्नविहिते-  
 5 तरदैवपितृकृत्योपलक्षणम् । अपराह्नविहितं तु “यथास्तं सविता” इत्यस्य  
हेतुमन्निगदस्वरसादित्युक्तम् । अथवा गृह्णपरिशिष्टवचनं विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-

2. B न खण्ड for द्विखण्ड, देवकृत्यानुष्टानं for दैवपित्र्यकर्मानुष्टानं. 3. यदा  
 .....प्रथम—B modifies this portion thus—यदा च दिनद्वयपूर्वाङ्गापराह्नयोः  
प्राप्तिस्तदा. Bet. परिशिष्ट and देवल B inserts प्रथमलिखित. 6. A इत्येतयोर्द्वि-  
तीयादियुग्मतिथिविषयत्वात् for इत्यनयोः.....विषयत्वात्. 7. A तृतीयादियुग्म  
for द्वितीयायुग्म. 8. A drops विषय. 1. A विषयः for विषयं.  
3. B inserts परान्विता bet. स्युः and इति; विधि bet. तत्रैव and विशेष.  
5. B inserts कर्तव्यः bet. कर्य and इति. 10. A drops सप्तम्याः.

वचनैकवाक्यतया शुक्रपश्चोदयसंबन्धयाशुम्मतिथिविधायकं तथाप्यनुष्टुते  
विशेषाभाव इति । ननु युमविधौ किमुभयोहभयकार्ये विधिस्तान्यतरस्या-  
न्यतरकार्ये वा ? नाद्यः ससम्याः स्वकार्यप्रासत्वाद्, एवं षष्ठ्या अपि नोभयत्र  
विधिः । नापि द्वितीयः; सोऽपि नियवद् वावः स्याद्, द्विखण्डतानिमित्तेन  
10 वा ? नाद्यः, ससमीविधिवाधापत्तेः । नापि द्वितीयः, ससमीक्षणस्य  
नियमेन वर्णनापत्तेः । यथा राजन्यवैद्याधिकारनिमित्ते ज्योतिष्ठोमफल-  
चमसविधौ सोमवाधस्तद्वद्वापि द्विखण्डतानिमित्तेन ससमीकार्ये षष्ठीविधौ  
कर्मार्थं ससमीवर्जनमेव स्यात्तदर्थः प्राप्तापि ससमी पुनर्विधीयत इति चन्ने ।  
तदा किं षष्ठीससम्योः सहितयोः ससमीकार्ये विधिस्त निरपेक्षयोः ? नाद्यः,  
5 कालस्य सांगप्रधानार्थकप्रयोगांगत्वेन द्वायां प्रयोगो निष्पाद्यः स्यात्, तदा  
ससमीक्षणे सांगस्तानादिसमासौ कर्मवैगुण्यप्रसंगः । द्वितीये तु किंचित् षष्ठ्यां  
किंचित् ससम्यां सांगप्रधाननिष्पत्तौ वैगुण्यापत्तिः । अतएव सामान्येन  
ससमीविहितस्य कर्मणो युगमविधानादयुगमविषयोपसंहार इत्थपि निरस्तम् ।  
10 संपूर्णायां तत्कर्मवाधापत्तेः । अतएव स्वर्गकामश्रुतेः सामान्यप्रवृत्तायाः  
समर्थनरगोचरोपसंहारेऽन्धबधिरादिपक्षे दर्शपौर्णमासादेवाध इत्युक्तम् । अत्र  
जिकनसमाधानं दिनद्वये ससम्यवयवप्राप्तावनियमे प्राप्ते द्विखण्डतानिमित्तेन  
ससम्यवयवविशेषे नियमविधिस्तस्य चावयवस्य संपूर्णतिथिविहितकर्मां-  
संपादकत्वात् सहायभावेन षष्ठ्यनुप्रवेशविधौ न ससमीवाधः ससमीसहाय-  
5 भावेन षष्ठीविधानाद् गृह्यमाणस्य पदस्य मन्त्रसहायभावेन तत्कार्य-  
विधाविव( ) न मन्त्रवाधः । एवं च न(?) ससमीविहितं स्तानदानादिकं  
सति संभवे ससम्यामेव कर्तव्यमशक्तावेवान्यानुप्रवेशात् उपवासे तु प्रयेण  
ससम्या अहोरात्राव्यापकत्वात् प्रायिकषष्ठ्यवयवानुप्रवेशविधिः । अहोरात्र-  
भोजन एवोपवासपदप्रयोगात् । न त्वेकतिथिसंबन्धिन्यमोजने । अन्यथा  
10 पूर्वदिने षष्ठीविलायां भुक्तवस्थपरदिने ससमीविलायुक्तीर्थाष्टस्यां भूक्तवस्थपवासीति  
पदप्रयोगापत्तेः । ननु ससम्यामुपवासः श्रूयते ? सत्यं, उक्तयुक्ते : ससमीपदस्य  
स्वसंबन्धयहोरात्रलक्षकत्वात् । ननु यत्रेवाहोरात्रव्यापिनी ससमी तत्रैव  
ससम्युपवासविधिस्तपद्यतामक्तं लक्षणया ? तच्च, वार्षिकससम्युपवासत्रत-  
लोपापत्तेः । न खलु काप्यविच्छेदेन द्वादशानां ससमीनामहोरात्रव्यापिता  
5 संभवति तदिचन्यम् । यदि द्विखण्डतानिमित्तेन निरपेक्षः ससम्यवयवविशेषो

1. B न for वावः 8. B कार्यस्य for कालस्य. 10. A षष्ठ्याः for षष्ठ्यां.
1. B inserts कर्म bet. निष्पत्तौ and वैगुण्य. 3. A omits सामान्य-  
प्रवृत्तायाः 4. B drops वधिर. 6. B drops तिथि in संपूर्णतिथिविहित.
- 7-9. A omits गृह्यमाणस्य.....प्रवेशात्.

नियम्यते, तदा तद्विरोधात् कथं पष्ठयवयवस्य सहायताविधिः । अथ सापेक्षस्तत्रसप्तवयवसात्रकृतस्य स्नानादेव शास्त्रार्थता स्यात् । अत्रोच्यते, 10 द्वयमन्त्र विधीयते; एको हि द्विखण्डतानिमित्तेन निरपेक्षस्य सप्तवयवविशेषस्य नियमविधिः, तथा पष्ठयवयवसमुदितसप्तमीविधिश्च । तदा द्वयोरेव निरपेक्षसापेक्षयोर्वचनार्थत्वाद् जातकर्मणि मधुघृते प्राशयति घृतं वेतिवद्विकल्पः । तत्र निरपेक्षः सप्तमीपक्षः ततो न्यूनषष्ठीसमुदितसप्तमीपक्षः सापेक्षनिरपेक्षयोर्निरपेक्षं वलीय इति न्यायात् । वचनातु कच्चिद् व्यस्ततिथेरपि ग्रहणं, यथा भविष्यपुराणे—

5 कार्या विद्धापि सप्तम्या रोहिणीसहिताष्टमी ।  
तत्रोपवासं कुर्वीत तिथिभान्ते च पारणम् ॥

तिथिभान्ते च पारणमिति प्रकरणाद् रोहिण्यष्टम्युपवासविषयम् । ननु युग्मवचनविरोधादैषमीयुक्तसप्तम्यां माघसप्तमीविहितस्नानार्थदानादिकं न भवेत् । विशेषवचनात्तत्र तथेति चेत्त्र संपूर्णमाघसप्तम्यामेतत्संभवात् । तत्र संशये 10 युग्मवचनप्रवृत्तेऽस्त्वत् । न चारणोदयवेलायां सप्तमी दिनद्वये लम्यत इति न संभवः । अरुणोदयवेलायां चात्र स्नानदानादिकं श्रूयते यथा स्मृतिसमुच्चये—

अरुणोदयवेलायां शुक्रा माघस्य सप्तमी ।  
गङ्गायां यदि लम्येत् सूर्यग्रहशतैः समा ॥  
5 सूर्यग्रहणतुल्याहि शुक्रा माघस्य सप्तमी ।  
अरुणोदयवेलायां तत्र स्नानं महाफलम् ॥  
माघे मासि सिते पक्षे सप्तमी कोटिभास्करा ।  
द्वात् स्नानार्थदानाभ्यामायुरारोग्यसंपदः ॥

अतएवैकस्मिन् दिने पष्ठी सप्तम्यपरदिन उदयास्तव्यापिनी सप्तमी तत्रोद्यास्तव्यापिन्यामेव सप्तम्यां कर्तव्यं न पष्ठीसप्तम्यां संपूर्णतिथिप्राप्तौ 10 द्विखण्डतिथावननुष्टानं संशयाभावात् । ननु संपूर्णतिथेरपि तिथेयुग्मं प्रशस्तं “तिथेयुग्मं महाफलमिति” वचनात् व्यस्ततिथपेक्षया हि युग्मस्य प्राशस्य तदेकवाक्यत्वात् । व्यस्ततिथिनिन्दा हि युग्मतिथिप्रशंसार्था ।

3. B अहोरात्र्युपलक्षकत्वात् for उलक्षकत्वात्. 4. B drops विधिस्पद्यताम्. 5. B द्वादशीनां for द्वादशानां. A drops काष्ठ.

1. B transposes निरेक्ष and सापेक्ष. 2. B corrupt for the portion मधुघृते.....विकल्पः. 4. B भविष्यपुराणविष्णुपुराणयोः for भविष्यपुराणे. 8. B inserts माघ bet. अष्टमीयुक्ता and सप्तम्यां. 9. B ननु for तत्र.

9. B drops the last सप्तमी. 10. B inserts कर्म bet. सप्तम्यां and कर्तव्यं.

न ह्यत्र व्यस्ततिथिनिषेदो विधीयते । व्यस्ततिथेः जाग्रतोऽप्राप्तवाद् वाक्य-  
 5 भेदापत्तेश्च । नापि पर्युदासो युग्मवचनस्य विशेषप्राप्त्वेन पर्युदासासंभवात्  
 सामान्यप्राप्तौ हि पर्युदासो भवति । तस्माद् युग्मतिथिविधेरप्यप्राप्तं  
 व्यस्ततिथिविशेषनिषेधमनूद्य व्यस्ततिथिनिन्दा युग्मतिथिप्रशार्था । यथा  
 न गिरा गिरेति ब्रूयाद् यदा गिरा गिरेति ब्रूयात्तदा ज्ञातार्थानामेव गिरेत्  
 10 तस्माद् एवं कृत्वोद्गेयमिति गिरापदस्थान इवापदविधेरनुप्रवेशादर्थप्राप्तं  
 गिरापदनिषेधमनूद्य गिरापदनिन्देवापदप्रशार्थां तदेकवाक्यत्वात् । वचनात्  
 क्वचित् पूर्णाया अपि तिथेः परित्यागः यथा प्रचेताः—  
 पूर्णायेकादशी त्यज्या वर्धते द्वितयं यदि ।  
 द्वादश्यां पारणालाभे पूर्णैव परिगृह्यते ॥  
 5 द्वितयमिति द्वादश्येकादशी न दशम्येकादशी पूर्णापि परित्याज्येति  
 वचनात् पारणालाभे पारणयोग्यद्वादश्यलाभ इत्यर्थः । अतएव वारयुक्तियौ  
 संशयाभावाद् व्यस्तायामपि कर्मनुष्टानम् । यथा देवीपुराणे—  
 यदा शुक्लतुर्थ्यं तु वारो भौमस्य वै भवेत् ।  
 तदा सा सुखदा श्रेया सुखानामेति कीर्तिता ।  
 10 स्नानदानादिकं कर्म तत्रैवाक्षयमुच्यते ॥  
 भविष्यपुराणे—शुक्लपक्षस्य सप्तम्यां सूर्यवारो भवेद् यदि ।  
 सप्तमी विजया नाम तत्र दत्तं महाफलम् ॥  
 अमावास्या सोमवारे रविवारे च सप्तमी ।  
 चतुर्थी भौमवारे अक्षयादपि चाक्षया ॥

5 व्यासः—

अमावास्यां यदा वारो भवेद् भूमिसूतस्य च ।  
 गोसहस्रफलं दद्यात् स्नानमात्रेण जाह्वती ॥  
 सिनीवाली कुहुर्वापि यदि सोमदिने भवेत् ।  
 गोसहस्रफलं दद्यात् स्नानं यन्मानिना कृतम् ॥

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1-2 A omits तिथियुग्मं प्रशस्तं. 2. A तिथियुग्मं for तिथ्योर्युग्मं.  
 5. B युग्मस्य fer युग्मवचनस्य. 6. B inserts विधि bet. विशेष and प्राप्त्वेन.  
 9. B omits यदा.....ब्रूयात्. A तत्रोद्गातास्मानामेव (?) for ज्ञातार्थानामेव.  
 10. B कृते ज्ञेय (?) मितिवाक्ये गिरापदकार्ये इवापदविधानार्थप्राप्तं for कृत्वोद्गेयं  
      .....प्राप्तं. 1. B drops निषेध. 3. B वर्धते and द्वितयं transposed.  
 9. A सुखनामापकीर्तिता for सुखा.....कीर्तिता. 10. B सर्वमक्षयं for तत्रैवाक्षयं.  
 3. B modifies the line thus — अमा वै सोमवारेण रविवारेण सप्तमी.  
 4. B भौमवारेण for वारे. 6. B तु for च. 6-9. Cannot be traced in  
 the Vaṅgavāsi Ed. of the Vyāsa Samhitā.

10 सिनीवाली चतुर्थीयुक्तामावास्या, व्यस्तापि पुण्येत्यर्थः । एवं नक्षत्रयोगेऽपि  
यथा भविष्यपुराणे—

सिंहराशिगते सूर्ये गगने जलदाकुले ।  
मासि भाद्रपदेऽष्टमां कृष्णपक्षेऽर्धात्रके ॥  
शाश्वते वृषभाशिस्थे नक्षत्रे रोहिणीयुते ।  
वसुदेवेन देवक्यामहं जातो जनाः स्वयम् ॥

5 एकेनैवोपचासेन कृतेन कुरुत्वन्दन ।  
सप्तसंन्मुक्तात् पापान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः ।

ननु भवतु वारयोगे व्यस्ततिथेर्ग्रहणं, तस्य दिनद्वयेऽसंभवात् ? नक्षत्रयोगस्तु  
दिनद्वये संभवतीति नक्षत्रयोगस्य रात्रौ बलबस्त्रादस्तसंवन्धिन एव तस्य  
10 विधानाद् यथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—

उपोषितव्यं नक्षत्रं येनास्तं याति भास्करः ।  
यत्र वा युज्यते राम निशाये शशिना सह ॥

यदि तादृशदिनद्वये एव नक्षत्रास्यास्तयोगस्तदा युग्मतिथेरेव ग्रहणम् । ननु  
रात्राचपि युग्मं संभवति तत् कुतो न गृह्णते ? सत्यं, रात्रिविहिते व्रतादौ  
5 गृह्णते एव दिवा व्रतादौ रात्रेरेवासुरीत्वेन पर्युदासाद् रात्रोत्तरकालस्यै-  
वाङ्गत्वाद् दिवा च विहिततिथिप्राप्तौ संशयाभावात् कथं रात्रियुग्मविधिः ?  
तथा जावालः—

अहःसु तिथयः पुण्याः कर्मानुष्टानतो दिवा ।  
नक्षादिवतयोगे तु रात्रियोगो विशिष्यते ॥

10 दिवा कर्मानुष्टाने कर्तव्ये “अहःसु तिथयः पुण्या” इत्यर्थः । पुण्या-  
स्तिथ्यन्तरसंयोगात् पुण्यास्ताः कर्तव्याः; अन्यथाऽर्विहितं कर्मण्यहर्विधान-  
मनर्थकं स्यात् । “नक्षादिवतयोगेत्विति” निशासाध्यकर्मोपकक्षणम् अत्र  
“रात्रियोगो विशिष्यत” इति रात्रौ तिथ्यन्तरसंयोगो विशिष्यते इत्यर्थः ।  
नन्वहोरात्रास्योपचासादौ कुतोन रात्रियुग्मग्रहणम् ? न तत्रापि दिवा  
5 तदङ्गस्त्रानदेवपूजादीनां वहूनां कर्मणां कर्तव्यत्वाद् रात्रौ च तत्रिषेधाद्  
दिवायुग्मस्यैव ग्रहणात् । यद्वतं दिवा कियद् रात्रौ च कियत् कियते न  
तत्र दिवायुग्मस्य ग्रहणं किं तु रात्रियुग्मस्यैति; अन्यथा रात्रौ तिथ्यलाभेऽपि  
तद्विहितकर्मणि संशयाभावात् । यथा मनोरथद्वितीयायां दिवा वासु-

1. B भविष्योत्तरे for उपराणे. 8. B वारयोगेन for योगे. 9. A द्वयेऽपि  
for दिनद्वये. B नक्षत्रस्य for नक्षत्रयोगस्य.

3. A drops अस्त bet. नक्षत्रस्य and योगः. 4. A inserts न bet. युग्मं  
and संभवति. 5. B अन्यरात्रेरासुरीयत्वेन for रात्रे...त्वेन. 10. B drops कर्तव्ये

देवार्चनं रात्रौ चन्द्रोदये चार्धदानं नकं भोजनादिकं यथा विष्णु-  
10 धर्मोत्तरे—

देवमभ्यन्त्य पुष्पैस्तु धूपदीपानुलेपनैः ।  
उद्गच्छतश्च बालेन्दोदैद्यादर्थं समाहितः ॥  
नकं भुजीत च नरो यावत्तिष्ठति चन्द्रमाः ।  
अस्तं गते न भुजीत व्रतभंगभयाच्चरः ॥

5 अस्तं गते चन्द्रे । तथा पद्मपुराणे—  
दिवा रात्रौ व्रतं यचैकमेव तिथौ समृतम् ।  
तस्यामुदययोगिन्यामाचरेतु व्रतं व्रती ॥  
तेन प्रतिपद्युक्त्यापि द्वितीयाकर्मार्थं दिवा रात्रौ च लम्यते न च तदा युग्मा-  
दरः कार्यः । द्वितीयातृतीयायुग्मदिने द्वितीयाविहितकर्मणि द्वितीयाकालस्या-

10 लाभादित्यर्थः ।

इति साहुडियान् महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशूक्तपाणिविरचितस्तिथिविवकेः समाप्तः

## INDEX

<i>Verse</i>	<i>Context</i>
अमावास्यां यदा	Vyāsa
अरुणोदयवेलायां	Smṛtisamuccaya
अष्टम्येकादशी षष्ठी	Sivarahasya
अहःसु तिथयः	Jāvāla
उषेषितव्यं नक्षत्रं	Viṣṇudharmottara
एकादश्यष्टमी षष्ठी	Sampkaragīta
कार्या विज्ञप्तिपि	Bhavisyapurāṇa
दशम्येकादशी	Agnipurāṇa
दर्शश्राद्धं तु	Sātātapaḥ
दिवा रात्रौ व्रतं	Padmapurāṇa
देवमभ्यन्त्य	Viṣṇudharmottara
देवकार्याणि पूर्वाङ्गे	Narasimhapurāṇa

5. B drops कर्मणा. 6. B रात्रौ किंचिदहिवा च किंचित् for दिवा..... च कियत्. 9. B मन्मथ for मनोरथ. 10. A विष्णुधर्मे for ऋते.

5. B omits the line. 6–7. Ascribed by B and Raghunandana to वायुपुराण and विष्णुपुराण respectively. 8. Bet. च and लम्यते B inserts यदि. 10. B modifies the line thus—द्वितीयामावादित्यर्थः

<i>Verse</i>	<i>Context</i>
नक्षत्रं देवं देवेश	Viṣṇudharmottara
नागविद्धा च	Agnipurāṇa
पूर्णायेकादशी	Pracetas
पूर्वाल्ले भातुकं	Brahmapurāṇa
मैत्रं प्रसाधनं	Manu
यथा चैवापरः	„
यदा शुक्लचतुर्थ्या	Devipurāṇa
यां तिथिं	Devala
युग्माभिकृतभूतानि	Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa
शुक्लपक्षस्य पूर्वाल्ले	Vāyupurāṇa
शुक्लपक्षे तिथिग्राह्या	?
शुक्लपक्षस्य सप्तम्यां	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
षष्ठीसमेता कर्तव्या	„
स्ता तिथिस्तद्वोरात्रं	Saṃkara
„	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
सिंहराशिगते	

## SABDARATNĀVALĪ

### A WORK ON SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHY BY MATHUREŚA AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF HIS PATRON MUŠĀKHĀN

By M. M. Patkar

The *Šabdaratnāvalī* is a compilation of Mathureśa who was under the patronage of a Muslim chief called Mušākhān. The work is divided into fourteen *vargas*: 1 Svargavarga, 2 Pātalavarga, 3 Bhūmivarga, 4 Pūrvavarga, 5 Šailavarga, 6 Vanauṣadhi-varga, 7 Simhādivarga, 8 Manuṣyavarga, 9 Brahmavarga, 10 Kṣatriyavarga, 11 Vaiṣyavarga, 12 Šūdravarga, 13 Višeṣaṇavarga and 14 Saṃkīrṇavarga.

These contents show that the author was probably influenced by the *Bhuriprayoga*, the division of which is practically followed by him in the *Šabdaratnāvalī* with slight changes. Dr. Wilson observes that the present work introduces various readings amongst the synonyms but had made very little addition of any other kind.<sup>1</sup>

Mathureśa, the author of the present work, is identified with Mathureśa Vidyālāmkāra who wrote a commentary on Amarakośa,<sup>2</sup> and probably relying on this identity Colebrooke and Wilson have assigned the date A. D. 1666 (which is the date of Amarakoṣatikā) to the composition of *Šabdaratnāvalī*. This identification, however, seems to be doubtful. There is nothing common in the two works to prove this identification, except the common place of residence (viz. Bengal) of the two Mathureśas. Dr. Harprasad Sastri regards the two authors as quite distinct persons.<sup>3</sup>

In the introductory verses of *Šabdaratnāvalī* the author gives the genealogy of his Muslim patron and mentions the following names:—1 Šilamānakhān, 2 Iṣākhān, and 3 Mušākhān. To the last name he appends the title Masanandaelli (মসনন্দাই). The author also mentions in his work three brothers of Mušā-

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1. Wilson; Essays III, p. 233.

2. Wilson: ibid, p. 233; Colebrook: Essays, II, and Kalpadrukośa, Intro. p. xx.

3. A. S. B. Des. Cat. Vol. VI, preface, cxlv.

khān whose names are: Khan Ahmad, Abdulla and Khān Yuddhānanda.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to see if any of these names could be identified with similar names in history. Fortunately we are in a position to make some efforts in this direction and find some clue for the identification of the Muslim patron of Mathureśa.

The first person mentioned in the above genealogy is Śilamānkhān. This form is nothing but a sanskritized name for Sulaimankhan. One Sulaimankhan is mentioned in the history as being the Sultan of Bengal. He originally belonged to a Hindu family and his name was Kālidāsa Gajdānī. He accepted the Islamic creed and assumed the title of Solomankhan,<sup>2</sup> and married the daughter of a Muhammedan King. His family originally came from a place called Baishwara in Oudh. It is reported that after the death of Jallauddin, the younger brother of Bahādurshah of Bengal, Kālidāsa Gajadānī succeeded to the throne of Gour. Afterwards he got himself into the confidence of emperor Akbar by offering him presents and thus extended his kingdom. Sulaimankhan died about 1570,<sup>3</sup> leaving two sons Daudkhan and Iṣākhān.

In an informative article entitled 'A Note on Seven Sixteenth Century Cannon',<sup>4</sup> Mr. Stapleton has given the following account of Iṣākhān:—"Iṣākhān, the son of a converted Bais Rajput from Oudh, was the chief of the Twelve Bhuiyas, or Zamindars of the Eastern Bengal, in the interval between the death of Daud Shah, the last independent King of Bengal in 1576, and the reconquest of Eastern Bengal and Orissa by Man Singh in 1593."

Iṣākhān was a turbulent chief and for some time he remained in semi-independant state. Akbar sent Raja Mansingh to subjugate him. A personal combat took place between Raja Mansingh and Iṣākhān which resulted in the defeat of the former. Mansingh, though defeated, was satisfied with Iṣākhān's

1. I. O. Cat. No. 1016.

2. D. C. Sen : Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. II, pt. i. p. 304.

3. For a detailed account of Sulaimankhan see D. C. Sen : Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 304 ff.

4. J. A. S. B: Vol. V ( New series ), 1909, pp. 367-375.

valour and took him to Delhi. When emperor Akbar heard about the fight between Raja Mansingh and Isākhan he too was convinced of Isakhan's ability and conferred the titles of Diwān and Masnad-i-'Ali on Isākhan and granted him for support 22 parganahs in Mymensingh and Dacca.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now compare the two genealogies, one given by Mathureśa, and the other furnished by historical records and see how far they agree with each other :—

Genealogy given by Mathureśa	Genealogy supplied by histori- cal Records
(i) Śilamānkhan	(i) Kalidāsa Gajadāni—Sulai- mānkhan, ruler of Bengal ( 1561–1563 A. D.)
(ii) Isākhān, son of (i) called the chief of twelve land- lords	(ii) Isākhān, son of the (i)— was conferred with the title Diwān and Masnad- i-'Ali.
(iii) Muśākhān, called Ma- nanda elli, son of (ii)	(iii) Muśākhan, son of (ii)

A comparison of these two tables will show how they agree with each other. Śilamānakhan, mentioned by Mathureśa, is identical with Sulaimānkhan, the grand-father of Muśākhān. Mathureśa attributes the title Maśanandaelli (= Masnad-i-'Ali) to Muśākhān. In fact the title was conferred on Muśākhan's father Isākhān, by the emperor Akbar and was also used by Isākhan's descendants.

It will thus be seen that Muśākhān, the patron of Mathureśa belonged to the Diwan family in Bengal whose founder Sulaimankhan was originally a Hindu. His son Isākhān died in A. D. 1599. We may, therefore, assign a further period of about 50 years—say from A. D. 1600 to 1650—to the regime of Muśākhān, in whose time Mathureśa wrote his *Śabdaratnāvalī*.

Mathureśa also mentions two Hindu officers named Vallabharāya and Rūpadāsa. It is probable that these two officers in the employ of Muśākhān might have encouraged Mathureśa to compose his present work.

1. J. A. S. B. 1909, p. 372.

## THE RJULAGHVI

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( Continued from Vol. VI, Nos. 3 & 4 )

वेतालीनां च केलीकलितकिलकिलासैङ्कुर्लैहस्ततालै—  
रौंकीर्णं सर्वतस्तत् क्षणमिव रुहचे शब्दवन्मात्रमात्रम् ॥ ७८ ॥  
कोलाहले तत्र शम्भ प्रयाते शवामिषास्वादविवादभूले ।  
संघोषयामास कृताभिसन्धिः शमशाननिष्ठान् प्रति भूतवर्गान् ॥ ७९ ॥

अशस्यपूतनिर्विजयपुरुषाङ्गोपकलिपतम् ।

विक्रीयते महामांसं गृह्णतां गृह्णतामिति ॥ ८० ॥

आधोषणामसकृदेवमुदीर्यमाणामाज्ञायपूतवपुषा द्विजपुङ्गवेन ।  
आकर्णं तूर्णमुपजग्मुच्य पश्चादाथर्वणीं श्रुतिमिव स्वयमासुरौधाः ॥ ८१ ॥

आचारैर्विविधैरलौकिकविधासंवेष्टिश्चेष्टितै—

रालापैर्विकटैर्विहारघटनाकोलाहलैलोहलैः ॥ २७ ॥

आकल्पैः सुजुगुप्तितैरनुचितारम्भैश्चसंभोगकै—

स्तेषमेव चिरं जहास दयिताविश्वेषवदीनोऽपि सन् ॥ ८२ ॥

निःसत्त्वानुपहस्य पूतनगणान् सत्रासमन्तर्हितान्

देवो रुद्र इव स्वयं पितृवने बंधम्यमाणः प्रसुः ।

निर्विणो नितरां कुरञ्जपटलीरञ्जन्तरञ्जकुलां

सीमानं पितृकाननस्य कुणपैरुष्टां<sup>२८</sup> नदीं हष्टवान् ॥ ८३ ॥

प्राकरेण हिरण्मयेन कलितं माणिक्यरोचिश्छटा-

वालब्रह्मरीचिवीचिपटलस्पष्टस्फुरद्रोपुरम् ।

24. कलिकिला.

25. तालै.....सर्व°.

26. अशस्यपूतमव्याजं is the reading in printed eds. of the मा. मा'

27. °लोहलैः. But लोहलैः appears to be the correct reading as it rhymes well with कोलाहलैः cf. क्षीरस्वामी — लुह कथनादौ — अमरकोश with क्षीरस्वामी's Com. Poona Oriental Series no. 43. p. 244.

28. °दृष्टवदी.

दूरादायतनं दिवेव दद्वशे वीरेण घोरोज्जवलं  
 यत्रास्ते विविधोपहाररसिका काली करालाह्या ॥ ८४ ॥  
 अनुसन्ध्यमधोरघण्टनाम्नो नृकपालाभरणस्य मुख्यशिष्या ।  
 उपगच्छति मन्त्रसाधनेच्छोर्वचसा तस्य कपालकुण्डलाख्या ॥ ८५ ॥  
 श्रीपर्वतादुपगताविव निर्भयौ तौ  
 जीवास्मकैर्बलिभिरर्चयतश्च चण्डीम् ।  
 इत्थं पुरा श्रुतवतः पुरलोकवार्ता  
 तत्स्थानमेतदिति धीः प्रथतेऽस्य यावत् ॥ ८६ ॥  
 तावच्च हा कठिन तात नरेन्द्रबुद्धे-  
 राराधनोपकरणं भवतो जनोऽयम् ।  
 वध्या विपद्यत इति श्रवसी तुतोद  
 सन्तप्तसूचिरिव काचिदरुन्तुदा वाक् ॥ ८७ ॥  
 श्रुत्वा च किं निवृमिति श्रुतपूर्वनाम-  
 संवादतः कलुषबुद्धिरनिष्टशङ्की ।  
 गन्तुं ततोमुखमियेष न च क्षमोऽभूत्  
 संस्तम्भकम्पितगतिः सलिलाविलाक्षः ॥ ८८ ॥  
 गत्वा हठात्पुनरपश्यदधोरघण्टं  
 देव्यर्चनोपकरणं ददतीं च शिष्याम् ।  
 तन्मन्त्रसाधनविधातुपयाचितं प्राक्<sup>२९</sup>  
 स्वं जीवितं च पुरतः कृतवध्यचिह्नम् ॥ ८९ ॥  
 बहुलघुसृणलिपां बद्धवन्धूकमाल्या-  
 मलिकनिहितलाक्षाविन्दुमारक्तवस्त्राम् ।  
 बलवदरिकरस्थां बन्धुविशेषदुःस्थां<sup>३०</sup>  
 बलिपशुपदमासां प्रैक्षत प्राणनाथाम् ॥ ९० ॥  
 अथ तावदकुण्ठ्यचण्डमुण्डां  
 कुमुमादैरवतोष्य च स्तवैः स्वैः ।  
 अयि शंस मनोगतं तवेति  
 त्वरितावृचतुराकुलां कुमारीम् ॥ ९१ ॥

29. °दुपयाचिता प्राक्.

30. दुस्थां.

ग्रिय माधव ! मन्दभाग्ययाऽनया  
 न मया३१ त्वं महितः करापणात् ।  
 परलोकगताप्यहं त्वया  
 परिचिन्त्येति रुदो भासिनी ॥ ९२ ॥  
 अथ मालर्तीं कुसुमचारुरुचिं  
 विनिहन्तुमाशु सुकुमारतनुम् ।  
 असिमाददे ज्वलितमस्तघृणः  
 कठिनो निदाघनवर्घर्मस्तचिम् ॥ ९३ ॥  
 सावेगमद्भुतबलः सहसाऽभिपत्य  
 खड्गं प्रकोष्ठकुलिशेन निरस्य दूरात् ।  
 निर्भत्स्य रोषपरुर्वैर्वचनैर्मुसत्स्य  
 प्राणेश्वरीमधयदः प्रणयी छुटौके ॥ ९४ ॥  
 आलोक्य पोतमिव सागरमज्जने द्रा-  
 गात्मेशमागतमचिन्तितमेव काले ।  
 आनन्दशोकविषपमक्षरदश्चुपूरा३२  
 वक्षःस्यलेऽस्य विपुले वनिता पपात ॥ ९५ ॥  
 आलिंग्य गाढमवासिन्तमिवामृतौर्धे-  
 रश्वास्य तां प्रणयवृष्टिनिर्मैवर्चोभिः ।  
 अन्वेषकेष्वपि समर्प्य पितृप्रयुक्ते३३-  
 व्वाहन्तुमप्रतिवलो रिपुमध्ययासीत् ॥ ९६ ॥  
 ततस्तयोरप्रतिवार्यवीर्ययो-  
 रसिद्वयाधातलसत्सफुलज्जयोः३४ ।  
 बभूव जन्यं प्रतिगर्जतोः कृधा  
 बलीयसोद्रौणिगुरुद्वृहोरिव ॥ ९७ ॥  
 गतिश्च्युता३५ सा गगने पुरा कृता  
 मतिः३६ प्रनष्टा खलु मन्त्रसिद्धिजा ।

31. अनया. 32. विषपसक्षर०. 33. पिकप्रयुक्ते०. 34. असिद्वया०.  
 35. गतिश्च्युता०. 36. मतिप्रनष्टा.

हतस्य पाषण्डपशोरैर्धमर्तो  
 महीसुरेन्द्रस्य महः सम वर्धते ॥ ९८ ॥  
 अथ सुचिरविमर्दद्वाद्वामायस्तमूर्ते-  
 रसिवरमपहृत्य ब्रह्मशत्रोः कराप्रात् ।  
 मुवमनुविनिपात्य प्रौढमाहत्य पदभ्यां  
 ज्ञाटिति रटत एव व्यालुनादुर्त्तमाङ्गम् ॥ ९९ ॥  
 शीषच्छेद्या त्वमपि तदपि स्त्रीवधो मे न युक्तः  
 पापे दूरं द्रुतमपसरेत्युज्जिता माधवेन ।  
 मल्कोपस्य प्रसरमचिराद् द्रक्ष्यसीत्येनमुक्त्वा  
 पाषण्डी सा दिवमुदपतद् वाष्पपर्याकुलाक्षी ॥ १०० ॥  
 अथ रजनिविरामे सिन्धुपारावगाहा-  
 च्छुचिररुपास्य प्रेयसीत्राणतुष्टः ।  
 नगरमविशदुचैर्नन्दनोद्वालीला-  
 पिशुनमुरजघोषैऽयाप्रदिक्चक्रवालम् ॥ १०१ ॥  
 ततस्तमवलोकिता भगवतीनियोगाद्रहो  
 निवेश्य सुहृदा समं नगरदेवतामन्दिरे ।  
 उपानयत मालर्तीं तदभिवन्दनच्छद्वाना  
 करेणुमधिरोहितां नवविवाहवेषोज्वलाम् ॥ १०२ ॥  
 कैश्चिन्मङ्गल्यगीतिस्तुतिमुखरमुखैः कैश्चिदानन्दवृत्त-  
 द्यग्रैः कैश्चिच्च तालव्यतिकरचतुरैः कैश्चिदातोद्यनिष्ठैः ।  
 वारस्तीणां कदम्बैर्मणिगणविलसद्गूषणोद्घासिताङ्गै-  
 हस्तिस्कन्धावरूढैरजनि निविडिता राजधानी तदानीम् ॥ १०३ ॥  
 अरुणकिरणमित्रैरुच्छ्रैतेरातपत्रै-  
 अलितकनकदण्डोद्गुमैरश्रामैश्र ।  
 सुरसरिदभिमृष्टैः केतुपट्टैश्च जुष्टा  
 कमलकुमुदहंसैर्दीर्धिकेवादुतद् वौः ॥ १०४ ॥

37. हतस्य...पाण्डवशौः.

38. व्यालुहादुः.

39. मुरवघोषः.

40. °वायुतव्योः.

गवाक्षमार्गेण निरीक्षमाणो  
 भूरिश्रियं भूरिविसोः कुमार्याः ।  
 सख्या समं विस्मयमाजगाम  
 गर्भेश्वरो<sup>४३</sup> गर्भगृहे निलीनः ॥ १०५ ॥  
 अथ वेत्रपाणिनिवहेन दूरतो  
 विनिवेशितो विहितमण्डलो जनः ।  
 पुरदेवताभवनगोपुराद्वहिः  
 करिणीकदम्बकविडम्बिताम्बुदः ॥ १०६ ॥  
 निषादितायाः करिराजवध्वाः  
 स्कन्धात्कुमारीमवरोप्य मन्दम् ।  
 लवज्ञिकादत्तकरावलम्बां  
 कामन्दकी देवगृहं निनाय ॥ १०७ ॥  
 भुजोरुनेत्रैः प्रसभं स्फुरद्भिः  
 स दक्षिणैदक्षजनाग्रगण्यः ।  
 आलिङ्गनाऽध्यासनदर्शनोत्तै-  
 राख्यायतानन्दमभीष्टलाभम् ॥ १०८ ॥  
 आपाण्डुशोभामवसन्नगात्रा-  
 माशाक्षयादाधिभिरर्द्धमानाम् ।  
 आसेदुर्णीं हर्षविषादयोगा-  
 दालोक्य तामाकुलतां स भेजे ॥ १०९ ॥  
 प्रकाश्य सा माधवमन्तरस्थं  
 तस्योपकण्ठे तरुणीं निवेश्य ।  
 तत्साध्वसप्रोद्धरणाय वाणीं  
 कामन्दकी कामदुधा बभाषे ॥ ११० ॥  
 पुरश्चसूरागस्तदनु मनसोऽनन्यपरता  
 तनुग्लानिर्यस्य त्वयि समभवद्यत्र च तव ।  
 युवा सोऽयं ग्रेयानिह सुवदने मुञ्च जडतां  
 विधातुर्बैदर्घ्यं विलसतु सकामोऽस्तु मदनः ॥ १११ ॥

41. गर्भेश्वरो.

42. परदेवताऽ.

वचनानन्तरे तस्या मकरन्दोऽब्रवीदिमाम् ।  
 कुलकन्याविरुद्धोयमाचार इति शङ्किताम् ॥ ११२ ॥  
 त्वं वत्सलेति कथमप्यवलम्बितात्मा  
 सत्यं जनोऽयमियतो दिवसाननैषीत् ।  
 आबद्धकङ्गणकरप्रणयप्रसाद-  
     मासाद्यनन्दतु चिराय फलन्तु कामाः ॥ ११३ ॥  
 इत्युक्तवचने तस्मिंस्तामवादीद्युवङ्गिका ।  
 पितृधीलङ्घनत्रासप्रकटोत्कम्पशालिनीम् ॥ ११४ ॥  
 पितृवनमहीं निर्विणस्तां<sup>४३</sup> पिशाचनिशाचर-  
     प्रमथनिविडां वध्रामैकः प्रकाशितसाहसः ।  
 पतितमवधीत<sup>४४</sup> पापण्डारुयं च कृष्णचतुर्दशी-  
     रजनिसमये तस्यालोकात्सखी मम कम्पिता ॥ ११५ ॥  
 श्रुत्वा तेषामिति बहुविधानसाहस्रिक्योपदेशान्  
     बाष्पोत्पीडस्थगितनयनयोतितान्तःप्रसादा ।  
 बन्धुद्वेषप्रतिकृतिभिया बद्धरोमाङ्गकम्पा  
     लिम्पन्तीव प्रणयसुधया लिङ्गिनीमालिलिङ्गे ॥ ११६ ॥  
 तातप्रीतिप्रचयपिशुनैस्तामवस्थाप्य वाक्यैः  
     पाणौ तन्वीं विकसितमुखीं पहवामे गृहीत्वा ।  
 सख्युः सख्या अपि खलु तयोः सञ्जिधौ हर्षभाजा  
     वत्सेत्युक्त्वा पितृसवयसा माधवः संवभाषे ॥ ११७ ॥  
 एकं भूरिवसोरपत्यमथवा प्राणा वहिवर्तीनः  
     सामन्तोत्करशेखरीकृतपद्वन्द्वस्य मन्त्रप्रभोः ।  
 अस्माकं मनसो यदिष्टमथवा स्पष्टं समाधेः फलं  
     धात्रा चित्तसुवा मयाद्य भवते पित्राप्यसौ दीयते ॥ ११८ ॥  
 प्राजापत्यो विवाहोऽयं गान्धर्वेणोपबृंहितः ।  
 इति द्योतयितुं भूयो दम्पती तौ जगाद् सा ॥ ११९ ॥  
     प्रेयो<sup>४५</sup> भित्रं बन्धुता वा समग्रा  
     सर्वे कामाः संपदो<sup>४६</sup> जीवितं वा ।

43. त्वं. 44. पतितमवधीः. 45. प्रभो. 46. Printed eds.  
of the मा. मा. read—शेवतिंजी०.

स्त्रीणां भर्ती धर्मदाराश्च पुंसा-  
 मित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयोर्ज्ञातमस्तु ॥ १२० ॥  
 इत्युक्तौ तौ महाभागौ मालतीमाधवाद्युभौ  
 प्रीत्या जगृहतुस्तस्यास्तां वाणीं धर्मगर्भिणीम् ॥ १२१ ॥  
 पुनश्च माधवं प्रोचे पितृसब्रह्मचारिणी  
 बाष्पायमाणे विभ्राणा वात्सल्यातिशयाद् दृशौ ॥ १२२ ॥  
 परिणतिरमणीयाः प्रीतयस्त्वद्विधाना-  
 महमपि तव मान्या हेतुभिस्तैश्च तैश्च ।  
 तदिह सुवदनायां तात मत्तः परस्मात्  
 परिचयकरुणायाः सर्वथा मा विरंसीः ॥ १२३ ॥  
 इति तामनुशोचतीमवोच-  
 न्मकरन्दो मकरन्दवर्षि वाक्यम् ।  
 मिथुने त्रपया गृहीतमौने  
 मनसा तद्विणीमुपासमाने ॥ १२४ ॥  
 चरणाम्बुजयोस्तवाम्ब सेवा  
 फलिता नः प्रणतार्थकल्पवली ।  
 तदिदं सचिवस्य तोकरत्नं  
 सुदृदे भूषणमर्पितं त्वयाद्य ॥ १२५ ॥  
 उभयोरपि लोकयोः सुमित्रं  
 सह धर्मं चरतोस्त्वयोपदिष्टम् ।  
 गुहिणीगुहिणीर्गृहानुकूल्या-  
 दनयोर्हस्तगतो ननु त्रिवर्गः ॥ १२६ ॥  
 श्वाघ्यान्वयेति नयनोत्सवकारिणीति  
 निर्व्यूढसौहृदभरेति गुणोज्वलेति ।  
 एकैकमेव हि वशीकरणं गरीयो  
 युष्माकमेवमियमित्यथ किं ब्रवीमि ॥ १२७ ॥  
 इति श्रुत्वाणं मकरन्दमूचे  
 कामन्दकी कार्यविशेषदक्षा ।

त्वं मालतीवेषधरोभ्युपेहि  
 कर्तुं विवाहं मद्यन्तिकायाः ॥ १२८ ॥  
 चूडामणिप्रभृतिकं चरणाङ्गगुलीय-  
 पर्यन्तमाभरणजातमिदं गृहाण ।  
 एतद् दुक्खलयुगलं च शुचीश्च माला-  
 श्वन्द्रातपद्मुतिसमद्युति लेपनं च ॥ १२९ ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा सा प्रतीहारीहस्तात्प्रोक्तमदापयत् ।  
 सोऽपि तत्सर्वमादाय मालतीभूमिकां दधौ ॥ १३० ॥  
 मालतीद्वयमवेक्ष्य तेऽहस-  
 न्माधवप्रभृतयः सविस्मयाः ।  
 सद्घटं न सुहृदो व्यचिन्तय-  
 त्सद्धया नियमितस्य माधवः ॥ १३१ ॥  
 अथ माधवमभ्यधाच्च पूज्या  
 सभवान् पश्चिमतो विहारिकायाः ।  
 प्रियया सहितः प्रयातु धीमान्  
 महदुद्यानमप्नुतार्कतापम् ॥ १३२ ॥  
 गाढोक्तण्ठकठोरकेरलवधूगण्डाञ्छपाण्डुञ्जटै-  
 स्ताम्बुलीपटलैः पिन्द्रफलितव्यानम्रपूगदुमाः ।  
 ककोलीफलंजग्निधमुखविकरव्याहारिणस्तद्वसुवो  
 भागाः प्रेष्ट्वितमातुलुङ्गवृतयः प्रेयोविधास्यन्ति वाम् ॥ १३३ ॥  
 तत्रैव तावस्थातव्यं त्वया दयितया सह  
 सखा ते यावदायाति गृहीत्वा मद्यन्तिकाम् ॥ १३४ ॥  
 इत्यूचिषी सा मकरन्दमार्या  
 लवङ्गिकादत्तकरं गृहीत्वा ।  
 स्कन्धं समारोप्य करेणुकाया  
 विवाहलीलाविधये प्रतस्थे ॥ १३५ ॥  
 मालत्या सममथ माधवो मनीषी  
 संप्राप्तस्तदुपवनं विहारिकायाः ।

कान्तायाः करमयमग्रहीतप्रवालं  
 मङ्गल्यं सुचिरमनोरथद्रुमस्य ॥ १३६ ॥  
 विलासिनीं व्रीडयतीं<sup>४८</sup> विलोभयन्  
 विदध्यमुक्तैरवलोकनोदितैः ।  
 विहारिकोद्यानविहारमन्दिरे<sup>४९</sup>  
 विभुः कृतार्थो विजहार माघवः ॥ १३७ ॥  
 आलोलैरलकैरपहुतमुखीमाविस्फुरत्कुण्डला-  
 माश्चिष्टामवकुण्ठनांशुकपटेनाश्यानचर्चारसाम् ।  
 आकल्पैर्नवरत्नकल्पघटितैरर्चिर्भराञ्छादिता-  
 मानिन्ये पितुरालयं भगवती मायामर्थी<sup>५०</sup> मालतीम् ॥ १३८ ॥  
 मत्तैर्हसितभिरदिता हयकुलैः संमर्दतो मर्दिताः  
 पादातैः समधिष्ठिताः सरभसैदौवारिकैर्घटिताः ।  
 द्वारे भूरिखिसोर्महोत्सवधुरातात्पर्यपर्यकुलाः  
 खेदं निष्क्रमणप्रवेशविधयोः प्रापुः परं प्राणिनः ॥ १३९ ॥  
 उदस्तमणितोरणं नवविचित्रचित्रोज्जलं  
 दुकूलपटपटिकारचित्तनारुचन्द्रोदयम्<sup>५१</sup> ।  
 विशेषपरिभूषितैः परिजनैः परियोतितं  
 विमानमिव वैबुधं विरुद्धे वधूमन्दिरम् ॥ १४० ॥  
 अथ नरपतिः<sup>५२</sup> पद्मावत्याः प्रकाशितसौहृदो  
 निजविभवतो रत्नाकर्त्त्वैः प्रसाध्य च नन्दनम्<sup>५३</sup>  
 करिकुलपते: स्कन्धे चारोप्य वाद्यशतस्वनै-  
 र्बधिरितदिशं विभ्वः<sup>५४</sup> संबन्धिनो गृहमानयत् ॥ १४१ ॥  
 वध्वा:<sup>५५</sup> सद्वा प्रविशति वरे वानराभे सुजीर्णे  
 शेषुः केचित्तमतिच्चपलं भूपमेके निनिन्दुः ।  
 अन्ये कन्यापितरमपरे भागधेयं तदीयं  
 नानावृत्तैर्नगरगृहिणां नन्दनोऽभूद्विर्वणः ॥ १४२ ॥

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48. व्रीलयतीं. 49. विहारिकोवा न०. 50. मायामर्थी.  
 51. पटिक...चार०. 52. नृपपतिपद्मा०. 53. चन्दनम्.  
 54. बिम्बसं बन्धिनो. 55. वध्वासद्व०.

मधुरवचसि बाले माधवे मनमथाभे  
 जयति गुणनिधाने श्रीमति ख्यातवंशे ।  
 वरमपरमयोग्यं प्रोद्यता या वरीतुं  
 मतिरहह किमन्था मालतीबान्धवानाम् ॥ १४३ ॥  
 मरणमपि वरं यद्देषजं मानसार्ते-<sup>५७</sup>  
 नरु परिणयलक्ष्मीरीदृशैर्नित्यशत्यम् ।  
 किमपरमभियुक्ते वस्तु सौम्यं कृतान्तः  
 किसलयमिव धत्तां केवलं दग्धुकामः (?) ॥ १४४ ॥  
 हृदयमतिकठोरं मालतीमातुरित्थं  
 दुहितरमथ मग्नां या हि पश्यन्त्युदास्ते ।  
 ऋजुमतिरथवा सा किं वराकी विधत्तां  
 पितरि दुहितरत्नं कापि विक्रेतुकामे ॥ १४५ ॥  
 इत्थं सन्तप्तनाराचसवर्णा रन्ध्रयोस्तदा-<sup>५९</sup> ।  
 शृण्वन्वाचः पुरस्तीणां जामाताऽभ्यन्तरं यथौ ॥ १४६ ॥  
 अधितिष्ठति लोकसत्कियार्थ-<sup>६०</sup>  
 नृपतौ भूरिवसौ च बाह्यकक्ष्याम् ।  
 प्रतिहारनिबद्धवन्धुवर्गः  
 प्रययौ कौतुकमन्दिरं स मन्दः ॥ १४७ ॥  
 लघङ्गिकाद्या ललनाः प्रहासान्-  
 यान् यानकुर्वन्मकरन्दनुन्नाः ।  
 तांस्ताञ्जडात्मा तरलः स्मरावैः  
 प्रावुद्ध सर्वान् प्रणयप्रयोगान् ॥ १४८ ॥  
 उपनीतमसौ पुरोधसा  
 मकरन्दस्य स पाणिमप्रहीत् ।  
 प्रचुराज्यसमिद्धपावक-  
 स्फुटधूमाकुलसाश्वलोचनः ॥ १४९ ॥

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56. प्रोद्यतानां वरीतं. 57. मानसा(न्ते)ते. 58. किसलय(मपि)भित्र.  
 59. रन्ध्रयोः शृण्वन्. 60. लोकसत्कियार्थान्वृ०.

पुलकतिलकितप्ररुदकम्प-  
 श्रमजलशीकरकोरकायिताङ्गः ।  
 प्रकटितविकृतिः ६३स्मरेण वृद्धः  
 परिजहसे परितः प्रियासखीभिः ॥ १५० ॥

परिणीय मनोरथप्रियां  
 परिवारेण लवङ्गिकादिभिः ।  
 निजवेशम् निनाय निर्वृतः  
 प्रतियातां मदयन्तिकादिभिः ॥ १५१ ॥

वधूवरौ वासगृहं निवेशय  
 वधूं च धर्म्यैरनुशिष्य वाक्यैः ।  
 आमन्द्य जामातरमात्पूजा  
 कामन्दकी स्वावसथं जगाम ॥ १५२ ॥

परिचुम्बितुमाननाम्बुजं तत्  
 परिबध्युं च हृषं पयोधरौ तौ ।  
 तरसा निपतन् प्रविश्य पद्माथां  
 मकरन्देन महीतले निरासे ॥ १५३ ॥

कौमारे यदि कुलटामिमां६२ स्पृशेयं  
 गच्छेयं गतिमधमां शपे गुरुभ्यः ।  
 इत्युक्त्वा स तु कुपितो विलक्ष्यते  
 निर्यातः प्रहृदितदुर्मुखो निकेतात् ॥ १५४ ॥

प्रसङ्गतोऽथ प्रियबुद्धरक्षिता  
 पतिद्विषं भृत्यसय मालतीमिति ।  
 समानयतां मदयन्तिकां शनै-  
 र्मषाप्रसुपस्य विदस्य सञ्चिधिम् ॥ १५५ ॥

61. विकृति स्मरेण.      62. कुलदा०.      63. प्रसंगतोऽथ वुद्ध०.  
 64. मत्सम०.

लवज्ञिकाऽहं तां सुपां प्रबोधयितुमुद्यतां ।  
 चिरसुद्देजिता भर्त्रा क्षणं निद्रात्वसाविति ॥ १५६ ॥  
 तव प्रतीपं हि लवज्ञिके वचः<sup>६५</sup>  
     तयैव गाढं मम कोपितोग्रजः ।  
 सहासिकायां परभावया<sup>६६</sup> ख्यया  
     रतिर्भुजंगयेव रहः कुतो नृणाम् ॥ १५७ ॥  
 ननु प्रवादो नगरे विजृम्भते  
     स<sup>६७</sup> मालतीमाधवयोर्द्वयोरिह<sup>६८</sup> ।  
 इतीममाकर्ण्य विशङ्कितो गुरु-  
     र्वचोभिरेनामदुनोदरुन्दुः<sup>७०</sup> ॥ १५८ ॥  
 मयापि हृष्टं ननु शङ्करालये  
     परस्परं प्रेम परार्थमेतयोः ।  
 प्रयाणमन्यच्च मयाधुना स्मृतं  
     सुनिश्चितं कृणचतुर्दशीदिने ॥ १५९ ॥  
 तस्मिन्दिने मम तरक्षुवशं गतायाः  
     प्राणप्रदातरि चिरप्रतिपन्नसंज्ञे ।  
 दिष्ठ्याऽभिवर्धितवती दयितं सखी ते  
     तेनार्चिता च हृदयेन च जीवितेन ॥ १६० ॥  
 इति तां ब्रुवतीं स्मराकुला-  
     मवतीर्णा स्वमनीषिते स्थले ।  
 समयमानसुखी लवज्ञिका  
     प्रकृतं प्रस्मरथन्यभाषत ॥ १६१ ॥  
 कोयं जनः कुवलयाक्षि कुतूहलं न-  
     स्तत्कथ्यतामिति लवज्ञिक्याऽनुबद्धा<sup>७१</sup> ।  
 प्राह स्म सस्मितसुखी स्मर तं स्मराभं  
     नाहं क्षणेक्षितमसुं कलयामि नाश्रा ॥ १६२ ॥

( To be continued )

65. लवंगिके व तयैव. 66. सहास्ति का वा is perhaps better than सहासिकायां. आसिका, sitting-Apte's Prac. Sk. Eng. Dic.

67. परभावया. 68. न. 69. द्वयोरिच. 70. मनुनोदरुः. 71. °नुबद्धः.

## THE CARWAR FACTORY AND SHIVAJI

(B. G. Tamaskar, M.A., DIP. GEOG.)

[Continued from Vol. VI, Nos. 3 & 4]

7. *Hopes of peace and fears of disturbances in Karwar:*—  
The extract just quoted states also:—"We have had great rumour of late of Shivajee's intention to visit these parts. We desire to know if in case he should however should behave ourselves towards him and whether or no we may rely on his word." The Bombay Council wrote to Madras on the 3rd Sept. 1673. says :—

(Beginning of sentence omitted.) And partly by reason of cruell war and confusion in the Deccan and Mallabar factory from whence we expect our paper, for the factorys of Callicut and Billiapatam being so near the enemy, the natives are so overawed by their great power, that we expect but little assistance from them and the factories of Karwar have been bes(sic)iged and reduced to great necessity by some rebels, who have raised arms against the King of Viziapore and plundered most of those towns and robbed the merchants. Sevagee's army also hath ransacked Hubbley, Callapore, and many other towns thereabout. and we are not yet assured whether our friends at Carwar are yet safe or no, to whose succour we have sent one of our frigates wellmanned, and hoped she arrived time enough for their succour, though the confussion have been so great as to trade."<sup>1</sup>

This expectation of the invasion of Shivaji near about or against Karwar continued to be expected for a long time, partly on account of the local rebellions and difference between Adil-Shahi officers and partly on account of the illness and death of Ali Adil Shah II (24th Nov. 1672). While writing on the 23rd October 1673, to the Company, the Bombay Council says :—"Your factory at Carwar continues still under great troubles, by reason of the inserection of the rebels, all trade in general being obstructed in these parts."<sup>2</sup> While writing to the Surat Council the Bombay Council has to say that "Carwar continues much disturbed and wee fear that they are yet closer besieged

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, p. 51, dated 26 June 1672.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3872.

then ever they were for to this however wee have not heard from them since the "Revenge" Frigott arrived there—” But it was free from the fear of Shivaji for some time. The Bombay Council writing to Surat on 29th Sept. 1673:—"Naran Sinay bringeth certain news that the king of Vizapore is upon terms of peace with Sevagee."<sup>1</sup> Whether this fact of "terms of peace" was true or not, the war between Adil Shahi and Shivaji is said to have been a political war not only in the above letter, but also in a letter from Bombay to Musulipatam dated 7th October 1673 (F. R. Bombay, Vol., 6 p. 156). It is also in these letters that both Bijapur and Golcunda gave supplies to Shivaji so that he may maintian his wars against the Moghuls. How to reconcile these two letters with the following is a question.

"Wee heare likewise that Sevagees forces hath had two great overthrows by Bulloul Chaune and Serja Chaun, one at Bancapore and the other at Chandgurra, which is thought as the occasion of his retiring from these parts."<sup>2</sup> "Sevagee having lately employed his armies, in the Vizapore country hath not disturbed us."<sup>3</sup> Again in a letter from Surat to Karwar, dated 2nd Feb. 1674 (S. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, Fol. 103, part II) there is this reference:—"Sevagees late entering into those parts." Even denying these troubles of Shivaji, there were local troubles yet :—

"Wee—should be very glad that without any interruption wee might proceed on the management of our Honble. Masters affaires. As yet wee can enjoy noe paace here, our Governor and the rebels men often skirmishing with various success, and although the rebell hath lost one of the best castles he possessed, which is sunda and in it his wife taken yet notwithstanding holds out the rest obstinately, soe that wee can see but little reason to hope for peace yett."<sup>4</sup>

Again in a letter dated 22nd April 1674 (F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 129–131), there is a reference to troubles from Shivaji. But in this very letter occurs:—"God be praised that at length there is a period put to all our long and tedious rebellion here

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1. Original Correspondence, No. 3870, dated 23rd October, 1673.
2. Carwar to Surat, F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 30–31, dated 17 Dec. 1673.
3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, Fol. 92 and 93, dated January 1674.
4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 55, dated 14th Feb. 1674.

by the arrival of Aboo Chawn Rustum Jeamah, to whom all these countrys are given.—Wee are very willing to bee ridd of our souldiers,—wee have only reserved five English men to play great gunns upon any occation, which wee should not have done but that wee cannot thinke the Hon'ble Companies house or estate at any time secure without them in this ill governed country where the Governours themselves are to.(o) apt to play the rogue. And besides, wee heare that Sevaji is about a days journey hence, goeing to build a castle upon a very high hill, from whence if he be not prevented he may very much annoy these parts.”

In short, there are hopes of peace and fears of disturbances both on account of the local circumstances and Shivaji's activities. But Shivaji soon became engaged in the preparation for his coronation and so Carwar enjoyed peace for the time being.

On account of the aforesaid two reasons, Karwar could not long enjoy peace.<sup>1</sup> “His several invaides into the King of Vizapore country hath greatly prejudiced your affaires in your factorys in Carwar and Hubely—”<sup>2</sup> “The war betweene the king of Vazapore and Sevagee still continues, but not vigorously carried on, the great Umbrawes who are neither friends to the king nor enemys to Sevagee keeping it on foote out of policy and self-interest.”<sup>3</sup> In short, there was great confusion in the Bijapore kingdom. And Shivaji decided to take advantage of this confusion by a clever stratagem. So, he offered to make peace with the Moghuls by important cessions :—

“Wee are glad to hear that the towne of Surratt is not apprehensive of any danger from Sevagee, there is a rumour, here alsoe of peace between Orem Zaeb and him but we give little credit to it for the Mogolls army hath lately fallen downe upon Cullean Bundy and burnt the poor Cassaus( ? Kajan ) houses there ; with little other mishiefe to Sevagee or his

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 1, pp. 93-94, dated Sept. 1674 ; F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 239-240, dated Karwar, 270 cf. 1674.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 35, No. 4062, dated Swally Marine 9 and 11 Jan. 1675.

3. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3906, dated 5th Feb. 1675.

country and tis said the army since is retired againe to some distance of and Sevagees people are returned to Cullean and hee hath a considerable army ready to invade tne king's country againe, and if wee did not believe there was a good understanding bewixt him and the Governour of Surratt we should fear that he would take revenge on that place for we know not where els hee can goe to bear the charge of his army or gett plunder, having already robbed all the other places of note in his dominaions.”<sup>1</sup>

It is quite natural for the English of Bombay and Surat that whenever Shivaji made war preparations, they thought that he wanted to plunder places of note in the Moghul Empire. After all Shivaji’s trick was found out.

“Wee advised that wee were in *hopes of a sudden peace* between the Mogul and Sevajee Rajah, but it hath proved only *Sevajees policy*, who held Bauder Caun, the kings Gennerall, in treaty of a peace while hee hath filled all his castles with corne and procurred a great summ of mony from the King of Vizapore to carry on the warr, who (? Shivaji) threatened him (? Adilshah) otherwise to make peace with this King and carry on the warr against his countrey.”<sup>2</sup>

But it is worthy of note that he continued these tricky treaty talks for a long long time and with success enough not only to befool the Moghul Viceroy but also the cleverest and most suspicious Moghul Emperor, Aurangzeb. This can be seen from the following quotations :

The Surat Council writing to Bombay on the 15th June says :—“Visiting Sied Mahmud the other day, he told us that Sevagi’s vakeel had his articles of peace signed by the Mogull, which is now currant in towne. Pray enquire into this businesse of his ministers and advise us what they say.”<sup>3</sup>

Bombay writing to Surat on the 1st July 1675, says :—

“Here has been a very great report of peace settled between the Mogull and Sevagee and it continues still much credited, and it is said that Sevagee is to deliver up all the castles and

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1. Original Correspondence, Vol. 107, Fol. 68-69, dated 27 Feb. 1675.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 35, No. 4977, dated 25 March 1675.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 67, dated 15 June 1675, Surat to Bombay.

country which he has taken from the Mogull reserving only Sallera (Sattara) and Mawbe(?-lee ; the Mavals) and that he is to be the kings Desy of all his countrys of Deccan and that the present Governor of Junea (Junhar) is to come down to be Governor of Cullean Bimberly, but to this we give no certain credit till we hear further of it, and this is what offers at present from. (F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, p. 109)"<sup>1</sup>

Then Surat writing to Bombay on the 22nd July 1675, says:- "The Governoour now declares there is noe peace between Sevajee and the King though the Articles were signed by the King and sent an eliphant to Bawder Cauyne, and raised his Munsub for the good service he had done in making the conditons ; but Sevajee hath baffled him (and, will stand to noe such Articles, contrived the deceit only to prosecute his conquest in the Vizapore territoryes.)"<sup>2</sup>

Soon thereafter "Sevagee hath laid seige to Punda with about 2000 horse and 7000 foott these six days, and it is thought by all that he will carry itt, for he is providing against the raines and designes to stay to starte them out, for wee heare that Mahmud Chaune hath not above 4 months provision in the castle and he hath noe great expectations from Vizapore..."<sup>3</sup> "Ponda being not far from Karwar, the factors of the place naturally wanted to know your Honours etc. orders how to carry ourselves towards Sevagees forces if they should chance to come this way." On the 20th April 1675 the Rajapore factors write "He hath some forces heare Raybagh, but wee have noe newes certaine that its taken."<sup>4</sup>

"As to Sevajee, he settts all wheeles att worke, for while he is a prosecuting his designe att Punda, his forces that went aloft have plundered three great cittyes, one belonging to this kingdom named Etgerree, the other two hard by Bagnagurr (Bhaganagar) which is in the limitts of the King of Gulgundawes dominions. They have brought away a great deale of riches besides a many of rich persons which they have carried to

1. Orme MSS. Vol. 114, Sect. 4, p. 133, Bombay to Surat, dated 1 July 1675.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 77, Surat to Bombay, dated 22 July 1675.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 37, dated 14 April 1675.

4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 41-49.

Sevajee att Punda. His forces have robbed Cucullee and Veruda (in) the Portuguese territories and tis thought by all he will winn Punda Castle for he makes preparations to take up his winter quarters there. Fame declares his army to consists of 30000 men. Wee expect some of them every day here, for the people begin to come from Simisee (? Shiveshwar or Shirsee) already, which is not above two leagues of us.”<sup>1</sup>

At last, “Sevajee hath taken Punda Castle and hath put Mah(m)ud Ckaune in irons ; with forceing him, he hath writ to the adjacent castles(s) to surrender to Sevajee, but none of them will adheare to him. In Smimeseer (Shiveshwar) there is about 3000 horse besides foot, which have laid seige to the Castle for this 15 days ; 12 dayes agoe one of Sevajees Generalls came and visited Carwar to burne it, which he did effectually, for he hath not left an house standing. He pitched his tent at Carwarr where the Desie formerly dwelt. While he was here there was some letters past betwixt us. In his first he desired us to send some great man but he(sic) (we) did suppose it was to welcome him to Carwarr rather then out of any great secret he had to reveale and when wee desired to be excluded considering the inconveniency that might happen seeing he did not come to fight against the Castle but to plunder and away, he when he perused our answer writ a little hastily, wee might say rashly, for he showed more passion then witt, yett for all that, he had soe much civility to goe away without attempting any thing against us. Wee was prepared as well as could be expected in such hard times, that if he should have proved otherwise then a friend might be able to give him such a salutation as would not be kindly taken.”<sup>2</sup>

Only five days later, the Bombay Council writing to Rajapore factors say : “We understand that he has taken Pundah and made himself master of Carwar, except some few castles which he is now taking.” Therefore, the Bombay Council writing to Karwar on the same date gives these instructions to the factors of this place :—

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 37-8, dated 22nd April 1675.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 86, Carwar to Bombay, dated 8 May 1675.

"If Sevagee should take Punda and give any disturbance to the country towards Carwar, upon advice thereof and that he is near you, we would have you send some person out to him to acquaint him of the English factory there, and of the good correspondence and friendship between him and us, and to desire him to order his army to give no disturbance to the English or to meddle with any of the Company's goods, and in the meantime, we will hear your own endeavours to procure his protection and passport for you, and end it with all speed ; however we would not have you trust to his friendship but secure all the Company's estate the best you can.

For when a rude army comes, they regard not what they do, neither will they know friend from foe. The President would have you keep the wild bull until the Europe ships arrive, with you and then send him up by one of them. The foregoing lines we designed for you by return of the Cossetts, but before we had finished them, yours of 8 May came to hand, by the Solemity, whereby we understand that Sevagee has taken Punda and burnt Carwar. We do by no means approve of your proceedings in not going Sevagee's General a visit when he came to Carwar ; and we are of an opinion it will be ill resented. We would have you carry yourselves very civilly and courteously to all Sevagee's Generals and ministers of State, for in all likelihood he will make himself master of all these places, and then it will be our interest to gain their favour. You must govern yourselves with prudence, for as you must not disoblige him. So on the contrary we would not have you trust him no more then necessity requires ; and to the end that you may be the more secure from his force, we inclosed send you a letter to Sevagee and another to any of the Generals, desiring them that none of their army give us any trouble or disturbance, which you may deliver as you see occasion."<sup>1</sup>

All the above is confirmed by the Rajapore factors writing to Bombay on the 21st May, 1675 :—

"Punda was taken by the Rajah some days since. He put all he found in it to the sword except the Governor Mahmud

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1. Orme MSS. Vol. 114, Sect. 4, p. 112, Bombay to Carwar, dated 13 May 1675.

Chaun who saved his owne life and four or five more by promising to bring into the Rajahs subjection all these partes belonging to the King. Ounkeielah and Semaseer Castles are likewise taken; Cuddarah only stands out, but its daily expected newes will come of its being likewise taken. He is now master of Carwarr...they here threaten Goa very much and its taulked that the Rajah will next sett upon it.<sup>1</sup>

*8. How the Karwar factors acquitted themselves on this occasion is described in the following letter to Bombay :—*

"Wee are come now to acquaint your Honours of the great successse Sevajee hath had in these parts, for he is master of all as far as Anchola, which he did not gett by his valour but for his money (except Punda). Robert Jones and Edward Austin went and gave him a visit after he was in possession of Carwar (when he had taken Punda Castle Natt Ckaun Governour of A(n)chola made himself chiefe of all these places), Mahmud Chaun being in irons, Sallick Mahmud Governor of Carwarr place by Mahmud Chaun, Natt Chaun displaced and put it on Colle Chaun when Sevajee had taken Pundah, wee concluded in a short time he would be master of all the rest, therefore desired Natt Ckaun to order his Governour to deliver us up a ship that lay under the castle with some gunns for the moneys was lent Abne( ? Abu). Khain and Goindron on account customes. Wee had some gunns in pawne for Goindrons debt, which Mahmud Ckaun forced from us (this he would not heare of soe that wee are in great likelyhood to loose our money, for they discoursed with the Rajah (Shivaji) about it and he gave us little encouragement to believe that he would discount it in our customes). They acquainted him of the particular summer.

Wee desired to know of the Rajah what customes wee must pay here, for we did acquaint him what wee paid under the Moores, but was answered the same which your Honour &ca made with him at the settling of Rajapore and that wee must live under the S(a)me privilidges. The copy of the Articles wee desire your Honous &ca, to send us. Wee doe not know whether Sevajee means not to take custome att Cuddora, for it

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1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 61, Rajapore to Bombay, Dated 21 May 1675.

was included in the Mores time ; we paid 5 pagodas 6 Jetts, per 100 oxen there. If your Honour &c., settles the customes of Carwarr it would be very beneficall to our Honble Masters, if we should have occasion to trade to any other of his ports, that wee pay noe more custome then this here.”<sup>1</sup>

And writing to Surat, they say :—

“Sevajee hath made a thorough conquest of the country here abouts. Robert Jones and Edward Austen went and visited him, as to the discourse they had with him about the Company busines, wee referr your worship and to our other Government (?) which wee thinke is something satisfactory to acquaint how affaires are with us at present.”<sup>2</sup>

And the Rajapore factors confirm the above—“Sevagee Rajah hath now taken all belonging to the king of Veesapore in Cunkron.” (F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 62 dated, 31 May, 1675.) Now Shivaji’s policy had been found out by some, it is clear from one above quotations (Orme MSS Vol. 114. Sect 4, pp. 110-12, dated 17th May, 1675) that Shivaji continued befooling the Moghul Viceroy of the Deccan. It was only on this account that the Bombay people could say “there is a rumour much confirmed here of peace betwixt the Moghul and Sevagee and may give credit there unto”—

To the snub administered to them by the Bombay Council, the Karwar factors replied on the 9th June, 1675 :—

“Wee crave your Honour &c., pardon is not explaining ourselves better as to the perticuler circumstances about Sevajees Generall that came to Carwar, but now shall acquaint your Honour &c to your more fuller satisfaction and then shall refer ourselves to your more charitiable censure. When his Generall visited Carwarr, which was about 5 dayes before Punda was taken, wee had certaine newes that Bulleille Ckaune was within 2 dayes journey of Punda and that Sidde Mursudes (Murshid) sonne to whome the country was given did follow with a very formidable army soe that to all outward appearance itt seemed very probable that Sevajee would have broke up his seige. Upon this report wee was very circumspect whatt wee did, and that if

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1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, Carwar to Bombay, dated 25 May 1675.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, Fol. 104, Carwar to Surat, dated 31 May 1675.

wee should have visited his Generall the Moores would have resented it to our Honble. Masters prejudice. But Bulleile Ckaun, contrary to all peoples expectations, received a present from the Rajah of 50 thousand Pagodas as not to impeed his proceedings, and that Sevajee should not molest his territoryes, soe wee suppose the Rajah will favour his treason sow farr as to reserve him for his last and sweetest morsell. These were the reasons which did prompt us to doe what wee do, but wee hope your Honour &ca. will not judge of our actions according to the event of thinges, for wee shall doe nothing which in all probability may not consist with our Honnable Masters interest. We acquainted your Honour &ca. in our former letters that in all likelyhood Sevajee would take Punda Castle ; our reasons was because noe hopes of succour was expected before the raines were over, and wee could have noe certaine newes of Bulleile Ckaunes coming till he was soe neare as is above mentioned, with forces sufficient to have frustrated his designe.

(S)—The two letters one to Sevagee and the other to the Semidar (Jamidar) of Punda wee have received and shall keep them by us till wee have occasion to make use of them.”<sup>1</sup>

( *To be continued* )

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1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 71, Carwar to Bombay, dated 9 June, 1675.

## THE DATE OF THE BHĀRATA BATTLE.\*

By Prof. H. G. Seth, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

It is generally believed by scholars that the kernel of the Mahābhārata epic has a historical background of a conflict between closely related Aryan tribes. But not only the historical nucleus but even the date of the Bhārat battle is yet so uncertain. Four methods have been employed to fix the date of this important battle : (1) The post-Mahābhārata genealogical lists of the kings given in the Purāṇas. These lead to very uncertain results because of the doubtful nature of these genealogies, where contemporary personalities and dynasties are so often treated as successive, and also because of the doubtful reign-period assigned to different kings and dynasties. (2) The Vīśāvali lists of teachers given in the Vedic literature. Similar difficulties arise in case of these as in the case of the royal dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. (3) Astronomical data, which is of a very highly speculative nature. (4) Evidence deduced from the growth of the Indian civilisation and literature. Here too the remote antiquity popularly assigned to the early Indian literature makes the task difficult. But it may yield result which may be of some value in this connection. Max Müller on the basis of this evidence divided the Vedic Period into four, that of the Sūtra literature, 600–200 B. C., the Brāhmaṇas, 800–600 B. C., the Mantra period, including the latter portions of the Rigveda, 1000–800 B. C., and the Chhandas, covering the older and more primitive Vedic Hymns, 1200–1000 B. C.<sup>1</sup> This view-point has been maintained by several other eminent scholars. As Berriedale Keith remarks, “the older Upanishads can be dated as on the whole not later than 550 B.C.... It is not likely that the Brāhmaṇa period began later than 800 B. C., and the oldest hymns of the Rigveda, such as those to Usas, may have been composed as early as 1200 B. C. To carry the date further back is impossible on the evidence at present available, and a lower date would be necessary if we are to accept the view that the Avesta is really a product of the sixth century B. C., as has been argued on grounds of some though not decisive weight ; for the coincidence in language between Avesta and the Rigveda is so striking as to indicate that the two languages cannot have been long separated

\* This paper was read before Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, December 1941 (Hyderabad).

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 112.

before they arrived at their present condition".<sup>2</sup> Macdonell also takes the period of the Brāhmaṇas as about 800–500 B. C.<sup>3</sup>

Now as regards the Mahābhārata epic, the earliest references to it are to be traceable only in the literature of the fifth and the fourth century B. C. As Winternitz remarks, "An epic 'Bhārata' or 'Mahābhārata' did not exist in the Vedic period and there is no certain testimony for an epic Mahābhārata before the fourth century B. C."<sup>4</sup> Hopkins also suggests that there is "no evidence of an epic (Mahābhārata) before 400 B. C."<sup>5</sup> Macdonell too concludes that "the original form of our epic came into being about the fifth century B. C."<sup>6</sup>

The absence of any reference to the Mahābhārata in the Pāli Tripitaka, which forms the earliest strata of the Buddhist literature, also seems to support the conclusion to be drawn from the Brahmanic literature that the Mahābhārata epic did not exist before the fifth century B. C. As Winternitz observes, "In the Tripitaka, the Pāli-canonical of the Buddhist, the Mahābhārata is not mentioned. On the other hand, we find, in the oldest texts of the Tripitaka, poems after the style of the Ākhyānas with which we become acquainted in the Brāhmaṇas as a preliminary step to the epic. The Jātakas, whose metrical portions (the Gāthās), belong to the Tripitaka, betray an acquaintance with the Kṛṣṇa legend, but not with the Harivamśa and the Mausulparavan of the Mahābhārata. The names occurring in the Jātaka-book, Pāṇḍava, Dhanañjaya, Yudhiṣṭhīla (Yudhiṣṭhīra), Dhataraṭṭha (Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Vidhura or Vidura, and even the narrative, appearing in this work, of the self-choice of a husband, and the five husband-marriage of Draupadi, bear testimony only to slight acquaintance with the Mahābhārata."<sup>7</sup>

As regards the Bhārata battle itself it does not appear likely that it took place much before the fifth century B. C. Though in the whole of the Vedic literature there is no reference to this

2. *Ibid.*, p. 113. "The Age of Zoroaster and Rigved." (Nagpur University Journal No. 7). I have tried to show that certain Rigvedic hymns may refer to the events of the 6th Century B. C.

3. History of Sanskrit Literature, Chap. VIII.
4. A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 474-5.
5. The Great Epic of India. P. 400.
6. A History of Sanskrit Literature, P. 285.
7. A History of Indian Literature. Vol. I, p. 471.

battle, yet from the manner in which the names of the individual heroes occur, C. V. Vaidya rightly concludes that "the Mahābhārata war took place about the time when the Brāhmaṇas were being and had partly been composed. The Brāhmaṇas contain no direct reference to the great war no doubt, but this is only a negative argument. For there are other indications which show that the war must have taken place about the middle of the Brāhmaṇa period. The older portions of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speak of the Kurus and Pañchālas as two flourishing communities. The later portions have a direct reference to Janamejaya-Parikṣita and his brothers Śrutaseṇa, Ugraseṇa and Bhīmaśeṇa, the great-grandsons of Arjuna. These facts would lead us to think that the great war must have taken place in the interval. We have again the direct mention of 'Kriṣṇa-Dēvakī Putra' as a teacher of Vēdānta in the Chāndogya Upanishad. Vyāsa lastly is mentioned as a Rishi in one of the Pariśiṣṭas of the Kāthaka Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajus, though we have no mention of him earlier."<sup>8</sup> Hopkins also observes that "the heroes of the epic are particularly mentioned in the (Śatapatha) Brāhmaṇa, and indeed in such a way that Janamejaya, prominent in the epic, is treated as a recent personage by the authors of the latter part of the Brāhmaṇa."<sup>9</sup> As discussed above, the later period of the Brāhmaṇas and the beginning of the Upanishads will fall about the sixth century B. C. Thus, it seems very likely that the Bhārata battle itself took place about the sixth century B.C.

The Tibetan version of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Mahāvagga, VIII, 1, found in Kah-Guyr refers to a king Pukkusāti of Taxila, contemporary of the Buddha, who was harrassed by the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>10</sup> Who these Pāṇḍavas were, it is difficult to say. They may be great five Pāṇḍava brothers themselves, whose conquest towards the north-west brought them in conflict with Taxilā. Or the reference here may be to Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjun, whom the Mahābhārata seems to represent as having conquered Taxilā. If so, this stray reference to the Pāṇḍavas in this Tibetan text would support the view that the Bhārata battle took place about the sixth century B.C.

8. The Mahābhārata, A Criticism, p. 69-70.

9. Cam. History of India, Vol. I., p. 252.

10. Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress, p. 342.

In the Pali literature Pukkusati, King of Taxilā, is spoken of as a contemporary and a friend of Bimbisāra, king of Magadha.

## REVIEW

**Alaṅkāratnākara of Śobhākaramitra** (शोभाकरकृतः अलङ्कार-  
रत्नाकरः) Edited by Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M. A. Size 7·2" × 4·8."  
Pp. XVI + 226 Price Rs. 3. Published by Oriental Book Agency,  
Poona. 1942.

Prof. Devadhar deserves compliments for this *editio princeps* of an important Sanskrit work on Rhetoric of about the 13th century A. D. The Alaṅkāratnākara had long since fallen into unmerited oblivion but eminent Rhetoricians like Appayya Dīkṣita and Pandit Jagannātha have often referred to, nay, in a few cases even adopted the views propounded therein by Śobhākara.

This carefully prepared edition is based on an extremely corrupt single MS. in the Government Collection of MSS at The Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. But the editor has spared no pains to present as accurate and reliable a text as possible by utilizing all the material bearing on it, available at the Bhandarkar Institute. He has described it in the Preface to this edition. It would have been better had the MSS been described in a systematic manner, adopted by all good editors. A separate list of emendations which the editor was forced to make in the text has been given for ready reference, after the Introduction.

The Introduction deals with the date of the author and the four parts of the work viz. the Sūtras, the Vṛtti thereon, the Illustrative stanzas (634) drawn from varied sources and the Parikara stanzas. It explains with the help of six concrete illustrations how Śobhākara was a fearless rival of Rājānaka Ruyyaka, the author of Alaṅkarasarvasva, whose views he has refuted in many places in his work and was himself severely criticised by Jayaratha, the commentator of the Alaṅkarasarvasva. In Dr. S. K. De's opinion Śobhākara was a comparatively recent author and belonged to a period earlier than the end of the 16th century (Sanskrit Poetics I. 319). But Prof. Devdhar has, with convincing evidence, assigned Śobhākara to a period extending from the latter part of the 12th to the early part of the

13th century. The peculiar views held by the author about the nature of an Alāñkāra, Saṁśṛṣṭi and Saṅkara and his unique position in the field of rhetoric are also clearly pointed out.

The text is nicely printed and corner-citations to Sūtras are given on each page and the names of the Alāñkāra are also given on alternate pages. The utility of the edition is further enhanced by the addition of four alphabetical Indexes to (1) the Sūtras, (2) the Illustrative stanzas (many of which are traced to the sources or earlier works on Alāñkāra in the foot-notes), (3) the Parikara Stanzas and (4) the Alāñkāras treated of in the text.

Information recorded by Dr. S. K. De on pp. 279 and 319 of Sanskrit Poetics I, clearly shows that more than one MSS of the Alāñkāraratnākar do exist. The editor should have explained why he was forced to have recourse to a single corrupt MS only. Had the other MSS been used, perhaps the number of emendations would have been reduced and the Prākrit Illustrative Stanzas (170) could have been given in more readable form. Considering the large number of misprints or irregularities in the Prakrit stanzas such as एञ्च ति (179) for एञ्च ति, जोणहा॒ं (203) for जोणहं, भरिम् (177) for भमिर, हिमअरवडवगिं० (169) for हिमअर वडवगिं०, कलुसिअस्स (19) for कलुसिअस्स, the impression is inescapable that either the book is hurried through the Press or the Prakrit stanzas have not received as much attention as was necessary.

But on the whole Prof. Devadhar has acquitted himself very well. It is hoped that he will soon bring out a learned treatise on the Alāñkāra Controversies to which he has referred at the end of the Introduction to the book just reviewed.

N. A. GORE  
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participator at the sacrifice.<sup>201</sup> Gradually however the post of a Surgeon was considered low. Ashvins who are on equal footing with other gods in Rgveda become Śūdras because they frequently move among men.<sup>202</sup> They knew the art of rejuvenation and substituted artificial limbs. Taṇḍya recognises the skill of Atharvans in medicine. Substitution of the scrotum of the ram was resorted to to gain virility.<sup>203</sup> Royal says ‘Egyptians possessed a wide knowledge of practical Botany and their vegetable drugs were numerous and efficacious, some which they obtained from India.<sup>204</sup> Administration of medicine with the help of magic is very common.<sup>205</sup> It is likely that a good deal of knowledge concerning the use of herbs was received from the Non-Aryan tribes. That is why a physician’s profession was looked down upon. Witch-craft and sorcery, specially developed by Rākṣasas, Piśāchas and Yakṣas, is the science of medicine under disguise.<sup>206</sup> Antidote to snake-bite and poisoning is discovered.<sup>207</sup> Four varieties of leprosy are noted.<sup>208</sup> From the relation between heart and gold we can infer that it was given internally to cure the diseases of heart.<sup>209</sup> Sand bags were used to stop bleeding. The value of out-door life in treating tuberculosis was fully realised.<sup>210</sup> Sterility was treated.<sup>211</sup> Charaka and Sushruta advise dissection of human body. Yoga-philosophy had a physical side. Without a sound knowledge of nervous system and physiology it could not have made any progress in making the body perfectly healthy by means of breathing and other exercises.<sup>212</sup> Sulabhā by Yogic powers entered the body of Janaka who at once felt her influence. Vipula, a disciple of Devasharmā pervaded the body of his preceptor’s wife when the latter was inclined to commit adultery with Indra. He controlled all her movements and thought and thus saved her from ruin. Vidura merged his individuality into Yudhiṣṭira’s and died. The latter felt himself stronger as a result. Assuming different forms and motion through space was possible for Yogins. Physiognomy is fully developed as a science in the epics.<sup>213</sup>

Atharvaveda names more than a dozen species of snakes.

**Zoology** The dove, the hawk and the owl are the birds of ill-omen. Rāmayana classifies them according to their flying capacity.<sup>214</sup>

Horses and bulls were first to get full attention as they were

closely associated with human activities in every walk of life. Ashvins are the oldest veterinary experts. In the epic period, king Nala is called अश्वकोविद्. He was noted for his horsemanship, king Shalya is another example. Nala and Nakula are also specialists in Ashva-shastra. Bhima had studied the bul and the elephant.<sup>215</sup> The horse of Sind is famous in Vedic and epic literature.<sup>216</sup> The dog was a closer companion of man in the Brāhmaṇas than in later times.<sup>217</sup>

The world is divided into Dvīpas and Varṣas. Each Dvīpa is covered on both the sides by an ocean. Jambu is the smallest in extent, the second Dvīpa is double in diameter of the first. Third is double of the second and so on. Varṣa is a sub-division of Dvīpa. Every Dvīpa contains seven varṣas, marked off by six mountains.<sup>218</sup> The earth is covered by seas, the seas are encircled by Tamas, which again is enveloped in Fire. Space is infinite. Even the gods are ignorant of its magnitude. God alone may know it.<sup>219</sup> Seven aerial regions lying one upon the other have their respective functions.<sup>220</sup>

The Brahmanas know that there are maleficent and beneficent powers which are to be counteracted and to be pleased by different rites. The theory of Karma has not yet become complex. Predestination has not cast its gloomy shadow over human life. Freedom of will is the sheet anchor of Upaniṣadic philosophy.<sup>221</sup> Predetermination, Indeterminism and freedom of will are all voiced in the epics.<sup>222</sup> The theory of eternal flux and continuous growth is alluded to.<sup>223</sup> The philosophy of Yājnavalkya approaches Nihilism of Budha.<sup>224</sup> He becomes the exponent of Sāṅkhya system in Mahābhārata. The roots of the philosophy go back to Rgvedic period.<sup>225</sup> Time, Nature, Predestination or Chance is imagined to be the prime mover. Complete bifurcation of body and soul is the prevailing idea. The word Ātman which meant a living body becomes now pure spirit. Brahman is conceived to be Finite and Infinite, Manifest and Unmanifest.<sup>226</sup> The doctrine of Māyā (Nescience) is the inevitable outcome of Sāṅkhya philosophy. Jābāli expounds materialistic view. He is condemned by Rāma. A hedonist is put on the same level with Budha.<sup>227</sup>

#### **Other Sciences and Arts and Philosophy**

and to be pleased by different rites. The theory of Karma has not yet become complex.

Nahuṣa discusses the comparative merits of truth, charity and non-violence. He points out that absolute gradation is not possible. One may be superior to another according to the data of a particular case. Religious conduct is associated with virtue, nonviolence and prosperity. Others say it consists in obeying the injunctions of Śruti; but everything in life cannot be governed by Sruti. It is pointed out that the function of religion is to make the life of man orderly. Religion, therefore, changes.<sup>228</sup> The idea of relativity is here duly recognised. It is absent in Brahmanas. Formation of a perfect character is put highest elsewhere. It is to be built up by practising universal love, charity and good acts.<sup>229</sup> Bodily torture would not yield merit, still its value in atonement of sin is admitted. Confession in public reduces sin.<sup>230</sup> A man's action is judged according to his caste. Begging in the case of a Kṣatriya, is a great sin, whereas it is not reprehensible if a Brahman does it.<sup>231</sup> A man is restrained from doing wrong for three reasons (i) the fear of society, (ii) the fear of the laws of state, (iii) the fear of punishment after death.<sup>232</sup> The first was more effective in the early period owing to solidarity and homogeneity of social units. The law of Karma is systematised. It is not permissible to wash off your sins and throw them on your enemy's head. The rites, having sinful ends, are at a discount. The growth of humanitarian feeling is already noticed.<sup>233</sup> It is assumed that man is responsible for his acts normally though technically there is a difference of view on this point. An ordinary man has to follow the practice of forefathers and the virtuous in society, who are safe guides. Individual conscience is not raised to the level of Deity. Conscience of perfect men alone is infallible. They are a law unto themselves.<sup>234</sup> Faith alone will not save. It must be joined with good acts.<sup>235</sup> A small gift (from wealth righteously earned) is more precious than the performance of Ashvamedha with booty.<sup>236</sup> Another guide in ethics is 'Do to others as you wish to be done by them.'<sup>237</sup> 'Do that to others which others will not be able to do to you,' is the formula of Brahmanas. Sexual morality of the epics is on the whole the same as Brahmanas.<sup>238</sup>

'Ten organs are priests ; their objects are the fuel sticks. The functions of organs are oblations offered into Āhavaniya (mind). Vāchaspati (Deity of Speech) is born out of this sacrifice. In other words language is produced by mutual action and reaction of the various functions and mind upon each other. Mind is divided into two parts-static and dynamic. Speech is said to be superior to dynamic mind as it requires the help of words for its motion.<sup>239</sup> (When mind is fully developed it can dispense with speech.) The theory of knowledge is opposed to intuitionism. Mind claims superiority over senses. They contend that it is powerless by itself and it has to accept knowledge of things conveyed by them. All activities of mind in waking and dreaming states are wholly dependent on them. They support life when persons lose their mind. Mind would be non-existent without them. All knowledge is empirical.<sup>240</sup> Sacrifice was the centre of culture. Learned men assembled there and held discussions on problems-theological, metaphysical and linguistic.

The art of debates and the science of logic were cultivated and rules were laid down to regulate the Science of Logic debate between the two parties. Assemblies at the court of Janaka excited jealousy in the mind of other kings. Dialogue between Aśṭāvakra and his rival reminds us of the old debates. There were also spiritual mediums who delivered esoteric knowledge in trance.<sup>241</sup> Sometimes foolish questions are gravely discussed, e. g., Why hair grow first on the head ; why men have beard and women are without it ; why teeth fall and grow again ; how does a sacrificer reach heaven ? What is his ladder ?<sup>242</sup> Semantics and etymology often formed subjects for discussion.<sup>243</sup> Some people made it their profession to go about and earn descent living by their skill in debates.<sup>244</sup> They are the sophists of India. In architectural skill the Aryans were far inferior to Asuras and Rākṣasas. The latter lived in fortified cities. The credit of building a unique assembly-hall belongs to Mayāsura. The skilled workers were all Asuras.<sup>245</sup> The material used for fresco painting was kept secret by them. Big cities are unknown to Brah-

manas. They are the out-come of settled conditions in society. Ayodhyā was 96 miles long, 36 miles broad with roads well laid out. Principal streets were daily watered and flowered. It had several public gardens and groves of mango trees. The palace stood in the centre from which roads ran in four directions. Lankā was more gorgeous than Ayodhyā. It had buildings of seven and eight stories with pavements of crystal.

Ritual furnished amusement from Rigvedic times. The dialogues between Yama and Yami, Indra and the rival gods and Urvashi and Pururavas must have been staged by priests and nobility during the sacrificial recess. Mahāvrata is a musical pageant. Like ancient Grecians we note a grave and austere note running through their mirth. Almost all sacrifices were accompanied with music-vocal and instrumental.<sup>245</sup> Krishna witnessed a dance and play in Arjuna's company at the festival of Raivataka. Young princesses were given instruction in music and dancing by tutors. Women dancers were usually prostitutes and slave women.<sup>246</sup> The Aryans learned much from Gandharvas, Yakshas, etc., who had made greater progress in these arts. Hanumat witnessed an expert dancer (woman) sleeping in a dancing posture at Ravana's palace.<sup>247</sup> Women played their part themselves. It was considered reprehensible to exchange dress at sports.<sup>248</sup>

A chariot was protected by four guards. Two looked after horses, others protected the chariot's sides.

**War** Each tribe used its distinctive banner and standard. Chief warriors chose their own Dhvaja. Some used in Bharata war are-Lion's tale, five stars, lotus, alster with a gourd and bow, serpent, bull, boar, swan, sharabha, vulture, moon with stars.<sup>249</sup> The fighting units were arranged in different positions to suit the strength of the army. A small army fighting against odds formed itself into needle position.<sup>250</sup> Besides various weapons the army had-Boiling wax, raw sugar, sand, explosives, jars full of serpents. The elephant's body was covered with a leather armour. It had two drivers, two archers, two swordsmen and a man with a trident. Investiture

of a general was performed with great pomp like the coronation. The general addressed his soldiers before the fight commenced.<sup>251</sup> Signal was given by blowing the conches to commence the operations.<sup>252</sup> Musicians inspired the warriors by war-like songs and music.<sup>253</sup> If a Brahman appeared in the middle of the two armies desirous of bringing peace they stopped fighting.<sup>254</sup> (Brahman is a white flag of peace.) Alliances were sanctified in presence of sacred fire, the parties taking mutual oaths. Certain conventions were laid down for guidance of combatants in war-i. A fight was fair if carried between two persons whose equipment was similar ; ii. use of poisoned arrows was forbidden (Poisoned lances were allowed) ; iii. the fight stopped when signal to retire was given ; iv. A soldier without arrows, one with a broken armour and weapons, one who gave up arms and one who fled away, were not attacked.<sup>255</sup> Silk bandages soaked in oil along with ghee were kept ready to dress the wounds. Wives and mothers of soldiers were pensioned.<sup>256</sup> When the city was besieged the following measures were taken: The bridges leading to the city were cut off and the ferry service stopped. No one was allowed to enter or leave the city without a passport. Actors, singers, beggars, eunuchs and drunkards were sent out of the city. Suspects were kept under safe custody. The acrobats, gymnasts and magicians kept up the spirit of citizens by their feats. Liquor shops were closed. The ditch was strewn with pointed iron bars and dangerous creatures. An allowance for active service was paid to soldiers and arrears were cleared. The country round the fortified city was made unfit for habitation by polluting the water-supply and cutting down trees. When the enemy was very strong whole villages were deserted and the standing crops destroyed.<sup>257</sup> The envoy from the enemy's camp was in no case to be killed. If he were found impudent he might be whipped or disgraced in some other way.<sup>258</sup> Flight from the battlefield was considered ignoble. Death, without being hit by weapons, deprived a man of good worlds after death.<sup>259</sup> Bond of loyalty among the members of a clan was very strong. Seven hundred followers of Shalya sacrificed their lives on the battle-field after the death of their chief by making a desperate attack.

In extremity of distress men and women practised self-immolation. The origin of Satee can be traced to this practice. It was resorted to for winning over or persuading one's friend to one's point of view. Fire, water, poison and rope were the usual instruments. Sitting in a fixed posture was considered more heroic.<sup>260</sup> Bāṇa's tirade against it proves that it was held to be quite legitimate in old days. Brāhmaṇas do not show any trace of this practice.<sup>261</sup>

The corpse was dressed in silk and garlanded. The procession (in the case of Āhitāgni) was headed by all sacrificial implements and the sacred fires. The priests followed. The corpse was borne by men in the centre. It was accompanied by the wives of the deceased and their female friends who were fully decked. The priests chanted Sāmans which were confused with the weeping of the women. Some wives entered the sacred stream instead of resorting to fire. The funeral of Rāvapa tallies with that of an Āhitāgni. The cow is duly consecrated and spread over the corpse limb by limb.<sup>262</sup> Daśaratha's corpse was kept in oil for about a weak till Bharata arrived. The elders came out of the house first, the youngsters following. When the procession returned the order was reversed. The deceased is looked upon as an offering to the sacred fires. The body of Yogins was not burnt.<sup>263</sup> Ait. Brāhmaṇa prescribes a rite (Pälāsha Vidhi) when the body of the deceased is missing. A wooden statuc of life-size is prepared and the usual ceremony is gone through. Loss of bones of the deceased deprived him of good worlds.<sup>264</sup> The burial of bones was performed in a special cemetary.<sup>265</sup> Culprits were hung on trees at the cremation ground and remained there without any funeral rites.<sup>266</sup> From the account of Kichaka's funeral it appears that the favourite object of the deceased was originally sacrificed on the same pyre. It was customary to decorate the pyre of the warrior with the weapons.<sup>267</sup> Funeral rites continued for a year. New sacred fires were generated and various gifts were given to the Brāhmaṇas. It was believed that the gifts would make the position of the deceased comfortable in the next world. Absence of the funeral rites was a serious misfortune.<sup>268</sup>

Exogamy was current among Vedic people. Sāpindya terminated with the fourth ancestor and sometimes with the third.<sup>269</sup> The interpretation varied in different provinces.

**Marriage**

Political marriages with non-Aryan tribes increased during the epic period.<sup>270</sup> Rāvaṇa is a Rākshasa through his mother. Kubera, his step-brother had an Aryan mother. A king (Riksha) of the lunar race married the daughter of Takshaka (Naga chief).<sup>271</sup> Out of the eight forms of marriage Paishācha and Asura were condemned. In actual practice many marriages were contracted on a financial basis. Beautiful maidens were a great asset to their tribes and parents. Yādavas were blamed for their excessive greed on the eve of Subhadrā's marriage. Gāndharva form of marriage which was commended to Kshatriyas, was borrowed from Gandharvas as the name itself indicates. Svayamvara is a special type of Gāndharva. It has two varieties. In the first the girl was allowed full freedom to choose a husband from among those invited for the purpose. In the second a test was prescribed. Anybody belonging to a good family could get the hand of the bride if he passed it. Many a time an inter-tribal marriage marked the termination of a tribal feud. Feudatory princes or weak tribes saved themselves by giving fair maidens in marriage to the supreme power as a tribute. (Rajput princes continued this tradition by giving their daughters to Moghal Emperors). The ratio of age, between the bride and the bride-groom recommended by Manu was certainly not observed during the pre-epic period. Even during the epic it might have been observed by some Brahmans only. All Kshatriya maidens attained puberty before marriage. The marriage was consummated immediately after the ceremony.<sup>272</sup> Besides regular marriages women belonging to Shudra caste were kept for enjoyment. Prostitutes on contract for a fixed period were also available.<sup>273</sup> Marriage is a sacrament. The orthodox view is that the girl can be given only once. The idea of purchase is deeply rooted.<sup>274</sup> The auspicious constellation for marriage was Uttarā Phalguni. The festival commenced three days early on Maghā. Shrāddha was offered to the mancs and a simple sacrifice was performed. Sacred fire was the holy witness in whose presence the bride-groom took a solemn oath to protect and maintain the bride and share his prosperity and religious

merit with her. Gārhapatya fire was kindled and worshipped by the pair every day until death.<sup>275</sup> The procession from the bride's house to her new home is beautifully described in Āsh-Gr. Sutra. Laws of eugenics were observed at the time of selecting a husband or a wife. Evil effects of matches contracted in violation of these laws are described.<sup>276</sup>

**The status of women** Women enjoyed more freedom in some provinces than in others.<sup>277</sup> In the pre-epic period the custom of purdah was unknown. Women took an active part in agricultural operations and sacrifices. In Rigvedic period some women fought on the battle-field and composed holy hymns.<sup>278</sup> Women philosophers like Gargi and Sulabhā had enough courage to challenge the greatest philosophers of their day in a public assembly. Women were best fitted for the work of mediumship in spiritualism.<sup>279</sup> Women like Sulabhā and others remained life-long maidens, leading a life of wandering ascetics. Marriage was believed to make a man or a woman perfect ; without it he or she remained imperfect.<sup>280</sup> Gargi contracted a marriage lasting for a night to escape this technical difficulty. When the ideal of ascetism got the upper hand there was no necessity to go through this formality. Salvation was secured without marriage.<sup>281</sup> A maiden was to wait for three years after puberty. If the father failed to find a suitor for her she was at liberty to choose anyone she liked.

Shakuntalā and Satyavatī dictated their own terms before making an engagement. This freedom was not however exercised by all. The moral influence of a woman on the life of man was fully appreciated. It was the duty of men to honour them by giving ornaments and other accessories. 'Gods reside with pleasure in houses where they are respected.' All pious works yield no reward where they are ill treated. If a woman is protected and restrained she becomes glory itself.<sup>282</sup> The picture of a house-wife is equally glorious in the earlier age. They believed with Nietzsche that slavery was the only condition under which weak-minded men and especially women flourish. Ethics for women is different. 'She is for God in her husband.' Service of her husband is her sacrifice, penance and Shrāddha. Women enjoyed immunity from capital punishment like Brah-

mans and children. She could be expelled from the house if found guilty of faithlessness. Whipping and segregation of the wife for some period are permitted to the husband. An evil-tongued wife may be deserted.<sup>283</sup> An ideal house-wife was expected to be up and doing, looking to the comforts of servants and guests. She practised economy and managed the finances of the house-hold. She was to be genial, smiling and mute in the presence of strangers. Spending too much time in gardens or in idle gossip with other women was not in her line. She avoided meeting alone her stepson. Excessive inquisitiveness was shunned by her as it was injurious to her chastity. She did not even observe closely the sun, the moon and a male tree! She observed the rules of Purdah.<sup>284</sup> System of polygamy and fear of Varṇasankara are largely responsible for these rules. The class of slaves had become numerous. Slaves were closely associated with household affairs. The lot of king's wives was indeed pitiful. The favorite wife wielded great power over the king. This gave rise to jealousy, hatred and intrigues. The position of the favourite was very unstable. She was ousted the moment the king sighted a new star. Vātsyāyana quotes cases of murders in the harem in the post-epic period. Kautilya gives various precautions to be observed by the king for his safety in the harem. The situation was not so dangerous in the epic times. The Brahmanas sanction only three wives for a king. The favourite queen was not crowned. The discarded one was the third.<sup>285</sup> With the growth of prosperity the life at the court became more luxurious and at the same time vicious. The number of inmates at the harem multiplied fast.<sup>286</sup> At the royal weddings thousands of slave women were given as a gift by the bride's father. Besides these, there is a class of women arising out of mixed marriages and illegitimate issues, leading an independent life. They were experts at toilette, singing, dancing and the art of decoration. Both Damayanti and Draupadi served in this line in days of adversity. The institution of prostitutes was recognised and controlled by the state. They had to put in their appearance on occasions like royal weddings, Coronation, religious and social festivals.<sup>287</sup> Some of them were taken in state service. They had a separate quarter. It was the richest and most luxurious in the whole city. They rode in

gold cars. The state used them as spies to decoy the enemy and to get secret information. Budhist nuns were also employed for this purpose. The maidens conquered in war were also the property of the state. The king disposed of them after a year in any way he liked. The best of the lot were kept in the harem, the rest were given in marriage to the nobles.<sup>288</sup> Women owned property. The gifts given by her father's relatives and those bestowed on her by the husband and others were exclusively hers. A widow had a right to her husband's share even though she had no issue. She was sometimes cheated of it by wily kinsmen. It was considered disgraceful to rob her of her dues<sup>289</sup> They had no right to their father's property after marriage. Tradition and custom in different provinces differed. The lot of the wives of actors and gamblers was indeed pitiful.<sup>290</sup>

Gold and silver were commonly used in making ornaments.

**Women and ornaments, dress etc.** The rich had ornaments of pearls, emeralds, crystal, coral, saphires, ruby and diamond, They were worn on different parts of the body.<sup>291</sup> Women wore shorts at the time of dance. At the time of sacrifice grass shorts were put above the ordinary garments for purity.<sup>292</sup> Rich ladies wore silk garments. Sītā's lower garment was yellowish and artistically embroidered with figures of swans. The upper garment was red and scented.<sup>293</sup> The auspicious mark on the forehead was put on ceremonial occasions. Rama puts the mark on Sītā's forehead with red arsenic powder. It was originally an amulet to win the affection of the lover. Collyrium was common to both the sexes.<sup>294</sup> Afternoon was reserved for toilette. Hair was braided in different fashions.<sup>295</sup> Women were found of using flowers instead of ornaments at times. Sandle paste allayed the heat in summer. Saffron was known for its erotic quality and was freely employed to heighten the complexion.

In summer men and women went out to the country side.

**Sports and amusements** Ladies danced, played various games. took bath in streams, fought in joke, drank the best wine and exchanged secrets. Sometimes the party consisted purely of women.<sup>296</sup> A water picnic of Apsaras is hinted in the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvashī.

Maidens finely dressed went out for sports to the parks, specially provided for them.<sup>297</sup> There were public halls where instruction in dancing and music was imparted by trained persons. The kings employed old men or eunuchs to teach their daughters. Shatapatha notes extreme attachment of women to these arts.<sup>298</sup> Elephant and bull fights, tournaments and gambling were other pastimes for rich ladies.

Women exercised silent but potent influence over men in social and political spheres. Women like Kuntī, Draupadī, Sītā, Vidulā and Kaikeyī have changed the destiny of nations.

The seamy side of her character is painted with equal frankness. Urvashī reminds her lover 'Friendship with women is a dream. They have the hearts of hyena.' 'Women are falsehood.' 'They are as fickle, mysterious and hard to be pleased as the speech of the wise.' 'Woman is an extract of the edge of a razor, poison, serpent and fire.' 'They cannot be trusted with a secret.' 'A country where the woman predominates is doomed.' Their passion is difficult to control. She weans away man from higher ideals by her seductive charms. She is a friend and medicine to a man in distress, home without her is a desert; even the root of a tree becomes home in her company. Man is incomplete without her.<sup>299</sup> Women observed certain rules during the menses, Journey of the husband and widowhood. Intercourse with a pregnant woman and one in menses was forbidden.<sup>300</sup> Washing, dyeing and spinning were monopolized by them in the early period. They worked as A. D. C.s among the Rākshasas.<sup>301</sup> (Cf. King Dushyanta's Court in Śakuntala).

Vāhikas, living in Panchanada, were mostly Vrātyas. Every-  
**Provincial and Racial Characteristics** big house there had a slaughter house and brewery. They were fond of decorating their houses, ramparts etc. with garlands and perfume. They spoke vulgar language. Women put on fine woolen clothes. On every black fourteenth night they held a festival in Shākala (the capital). They freely ate pork and the flesh of camel, cock, ass, and cow. Ārattas are a subdivision of Vāhikas. Distinction of caste was not observed among them. A Brahman became a soldier, trader, menial servant, barber and

again a priest. Property was inherited by sister's son.<sup>302</sup> Tāndya describes Vrātyas. They did not follow Vedic traditions and lived chiefly by hunting and tending flocks of sheep. Their laws were in a state of confusion. They spoke an Aryan dialect but mispronounced certain words. They did not devote themselves to learning. Their leaders were distinguished with brown robes and silver necklaces.<sup>303</sup> A special sacrifice was performed to Aryanise them. All Aryan tribes who were outside the pale of Vedic sacrifice and culture were classed as such. They freely mixed with the aborigines and borrowed many customs from them. Yavanas were brave and advanced in all branches of knowledge. Dravidians were crow-coloured, profligate, fond of women and given to quarrels. Mādrakas are noted for laxity of morals and crookedness. They loved beef and wine. Their women were fond of collyrium (Suviraka). They were akin to Sindhu Sauvīras. Intoxicated women played a naked dances. Barley mixed with fish was their staple food. Among Angas the sick were deserted and the wife and sons were sold.<sup>304</sup> Originally the people of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga were Mlencha. Later on any Aryan, fallen from Aryanism, was denoted by the term. It is synonymous with Vrātya in this sense.<sup>305</sup> Asuras and Dānavas belong to the same category. They are distinguished from Rākshasas.<sup>306</sup> In the epic the Asuras are driven to the forests of Vindhya mountain. Both were enemies of Aryanism. They are closely associated with Gandharvas and Yakshas. Lust and love of beautiful women was their weak point. The Aryans soon found out this and employed women to ruin them.<sup>307</sup> Their civilization was higher in many respects than that of their conquerors.<sup>308</sup> Vānaras were backward in culture. The weapons they used in war were crude and inferior compared to the bow and the arrow. Their women wielded great influence in the state. They were endowed with gigantic strength. Hanūmat swam a distance of 800 miles. Others could make up 80 miles.<sup>309</sup>

The earliest specimen of Sanskrit Literature is the poetry of Rigveda. The spoken language was not much different. A thousand years passed and the idiom of Rigveda became antiquated. Fantastic explanations are offered in Brahmanas of

simple verses.<sup>310</sup> Vaishyas and Shūdras who formed the bulk of the population spoke a language of a mixed type using many Deshi words and intonations. This was due to the growing contact with the non-Aryans. The process of Prakritization which had begun in Rigveda developed very rapidly. Sanskrit employed for ritual and educational purposes was least affected by these changes. The language broke up into two. The popular speech and the divine speech.<sup>311</sup> Institution of sacrifice helped standardization of holy language spoken by the first two classes all over Aryan India. Severe notice was taken of the priests who deviated from this standard speech. Asuras spoke corrupt Sanskrit.<sup>312</sup> The same was true of Vṛātyas an Aryan tribe, cut off from Vedic culture. Vidura conveyed his message of warning to Dharmā in Mlencha dialect, spoken by foreigners.<sup>313</sup> The Aryans imposed their language on the aborigines, the Sarpas, Nāgas, Pishāchas and Rākshasas. They modified it to suit their vocal peculiarities, retaining a portion of their old vocabulary. Mahārāstrī, Māgadhi, Shourasenī Paishāchī and Pāli arose in this way.<sup>314</sup> Gradually these were spoken by all illiterate persons. Sanskrit spoken by ladies of upper classes and Vaishyas was not as corrupt as any of these languages in the epic and the Brahmana period, though it differed slightly from that of men. Men spoke polished Sanskrit kindred to holy speech.<sup>315</sup> Unfortunately there is no literary record showing the difference between these two. Classical Sanskrit drama does not represent actual conditions. There were provincial peculiarities but they were insignificant.<sup>316</sup> Sanskrit of the epics is the literary descendent of Vedic Sanskrit. The prose portion of the epic roughly represents the language used by the actors in the great war.

Nothing appears more bald and sterile than the language of  
Brahmanas to a modern critic. Our in-  
**Literature** terests are not the same as those of the  
ancient priests. Lively dialogues and  
anecdotes are the oasis in the desert. Flashes of wit and humour  
spring a surprise upon us at times. The dominant note is  
classic. Rigidity, gravity and earnestness mark the whole com-  
position. There is a sense of superiority and strength about  
it.<sup>317</sup>

The Brahmanas are the product of scholarly discussions held in religious assemblies. Sacrifice is the pivot round which all topics, which are secondary, move. There is ample evidence of poetic fancy and imagination which are however ruthlessly suppressed. The prose legends, fragments of which are found in them, floating among the people are irrevocably lost because the art of writing was unknown and it was not thought worthwhile to memorise them from generation to generation. These would have enabled us to form a complete picture of social life in the period. Mahābhārata, on the other hand, is exclusively fashioned with a view to attract popular attention. It is most indebted to earlier literature. All available knowledge on sundry subjects has been amassed in the book. Like Homer's Iliad it has grown gradually to its present volume. The mind of several generations has worked upon it. It stands a unique monument of the epic period. Though its purpose is dialectic it vibrates with life. As it was meant for public recitation the dramatic element has been fully developed. You have to add a few touches here and there and you can easily make a drama out of many narratives. Dialogues, characterisation, sentiment, life-thrill are all ready. It is multifaced and has no literary unity. Rāmāyana stands on a different footing. As a lyrical work it stands unsurpassed. The poet has an exquisite ear for music and rhythm. He is justly called the first poet in Sanskrit literature. Force has not been sacrificed to lyrical beauty.<sup>318</sup> Everything centres round the central figure of the hero. The didactic purpose is firmly restrained. Its simplicity and concentration are wonderful. Vālmīki is a poet of nature in all its varied grandeur. He is the direct descendent of the authors of Rigvedic hymns. His knowledge of human heart is thorough. He is inspired but forgets not art.

The academy of Kanya had 10,000 students. The subjects taught were: the Vedas, ritual, phonetics  
**Education** logic, metaphysics, jurisprudence, philology, astronomy, physics, chemistry, languages of birds and monkeys, folklore, materialistic philosophy.<sup>319</sup> Its Vedic representative is Vidatha where learned men assembled and discussed all matters relating to sacrifice and layed down

rules of procedure. Sometimes members of non-local assemblies came and put forth their own point of view. Different schools (Charāṇas, Shākhās) arose in this way. Mythology was studied in these assemblies. Yāska quotes different interpretations on certain words and hymns, where myths are explained on the basis of Nature, ritual and history.<sup>320</sup> Students were admitted for instructions in these bodies. Advanced students visited famous centres in other provinces to perfect their knowledge of a particular subject.<sup>321</sup> The Academies were supported by princes, public and guardians of students. The land attached to them was exempt from revenue.<sup>322</sup> The students were provided with quarters, food and dress free of charge. Teachers lived there with their families. Rigorous discipline was observed by students along with the vow of celibacy. Meat, wine, flowers as well as scents, sweets, company of women and music were banned. Sporadic outbursts of passion did occur, otherwise the atmosphere was excellent.<sup>323</sup> Secular sciences were taught by individual teachers who were either employed by princes or led an independent life.<sup>324</sup> The academies generally admitted Brahmans and turned out statesmen, philosophers, jurists, priests, ambassadors, physicians and men of literature. Women students were admitted in these under exceptional circumstances. Secular schools were open to all Aryans.

Normal limit of student-life was twelve years. A few remained lifelong students observing celibacy. These included women also. An average student married after completing his studies. Then began a round of sacrifices and ceremonies which ended according to Brahmanas at the time of death. Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa did not exist for a householder. Upanishadic philosophy with its emphasis on meditation and retired life gave undue prominence to contemplative life. It was preached that after student-ship one could directly become a Sanyāsin. This is different from permanent studenthood in which one has to observe the regulations of student-life. During Vānaprastha the man could take his wife with him and live a stable life in retirement. A Sanyāsin had no fixed habitation. He led a nomadic life maintaining himself on public charity.

श्रीगौतममहामुनिप्रणीतं  
न्यायसूत्रम् ।

( NYĀYASŪTRA OF GAUTAMA :  
A SYSTEM OF INDIAN LOGIC )

वात्स्यायनीयं न्यायभाष्यं वाचस्पतिमिश्रकृत-  
न्यायसूचीनिबन्धसहितं  
महामहोपाध्याय गड्ढानाथ द्वा  
कृतटिष्पण्या समलङ्घतं च



पुण्यपत्तनम्  
ओरिएंटल बुक एजन्सी

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श्री

## सभाष्यन्यायदर्शनस्य भूमिका

यत् किञ्चित् प्रस्तुयते विचारयितुं दर्शनशास्त्रसिकानां विनोदाय । पड़दर्शनमिति प्रयोग इतस्ततः प्रयुक्तो दृश्यते । तत्र किं सूलम् । किं पष्ठेव दर्शनानि सन्ति-नाधिकानि न न्यूनानि ? पष्ठेव दर्शनानीति प्राचीनतमेषु ग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि नोपलभ्यते । उपनिषदादिषु यत्र यत्र विद्यापरिगणनं कृतमुपलभ्यते तत्र प्रसिद्धानां पणां दर्शनानां पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसान्यायवैशेषिकसांख्ययोगानां प्रायश्चो द्वयोरपि नामनी दृश्यते । तद्यथा छान्दोग्योपनिषदि सनत्कुमारनारदसंवादे ( ७।१।२ ) ‘ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येयमि’ इत्यादी ‘पड़दर्शनम्’ इति नास्ति । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतावपि—

‘पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमित्रिताः ।

वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दशा ।’

इत्यत्र न्यायमीमांसयोरेव नामग्रहणम् । दशम्यां शताब्द्यां राजशेखरोऽपि काव्यमीमांसायां ‘वाङ्गम्य’ पदवाच्यनिरूपणे तत्र पुराणमान्वीक्षिकीं मीमांसां स्मृतिं तन्वं चान्तर्भावयामास । तस्यामेव शताब्द्यां जयन्तभट्टोऽपि न्यायमञ्चर्या ‘षट्टत्की’ पदं प्रयुज्य तत्र मीमांसां न्यायं सांख्यं आहृतम् बौद्धं चार्वाकमित्येतान्येवान्तर्भावयां-ब्रह्मूव-नात्र समावेशः कृतः प्रसिद्धानां वेदान्तवैशेषिकयोगदर्शनानाम् । द्वादश्यां शताब्द्यां हरिभद्रसूरबौद्धं नैयायिकं सांख्यं जैनं वैशेषिकं जैमिनिमेव वर्णयाम्बभूव । त्रयोदश्यां शताब्द्यां जिनदत्तसूरिजैनमीमांसाबौद्धसांख्यनास्तिकानामेव निर्देशं चकार । चतुर्दश्यां शताब्द्यां प्रसिद्धटीकाकारस्य मल्लिनाथस्य पुत्रः पाणिनि जैमिनि व्यासं कपिलमक्षपादं कणादं च निर्दिदेश । प्रसिद्धतमे सर्वदर्शनसङ्ग्रहे च षोडशानां दर्शनानां समावेशोऽस्ति—न षण्णामेव । सर्वसिद्धान्तसङ्ग्रहे लोकायतिक-आहृत-बौद्ध-वैशेषिकनैयायिकप्रभाकरभट्टाचार्य-सांख्य-पतञ्जलि-वेदव्यास-वेदान्तानां वर्णन-सुपलभ्यते ॥ विदुषां समाजेच ‘द्वादशदर्शनानि’ इत्यपि प्रयोगः श्रूयते । तत्र च पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसान्यायवैशेषिकसांख्ययोगानाम्ना प्रसिद्धानि ‘आस्तिकदर्शनानि’, षट् च बौद्धचतुष्टयजैनचार्वाकनाम्ना प्रसिद्धानि ‘नास्तिकदर्शनानि’—इति विभागः कृतः श्रूयते ।

एवं पड़दर्शनमिति सकलदर्शनशास्त्रसङ्ग्राहकं पदमस्तीत्यत्र नास्ति किञ्चित् सुदृढं प्रमाणमिति सुधीभिर्विभाव्यम् ।

तत्वतो याज्ञवल्क्योत्त्क्यनुसारेण द्विघैव विभागो दर्शनशास्त्रस्य युक्तिसङ्गतः प्रतिभाति—‘मीमांसा—न्यायश्च’ति । तत्र ‘मीमांसा’ वाक्यार्थविचारात्मिका ‘न्याय’श्च

तदुपोद्वलकयुक्तिपरिशीलनात्मक इति विवेकः । अत्रैव च सर्वेषां दर्शनग्रास्याणामनु-  
प्रवेशः । तत्त्वबुभृत्साप्रेरितमेव दर्शनशास्त्रम् । तत्र च बहवः प्रतिपादा विपया अती-  
न्द्रिया इत्यतः सर्वत्र स्वयंसिद्धप्रामाण्यानां वाक्यानामुपयोगं विना ज्ञानं दुष्कर  
मतोऽतीव प्रयोजिकां वाक्यार्थविचारात्मिकां ‘मीमांसा’ । प्रामाणिकोऽपि विपयः  
केवलशब्दप्रमाणसिद्धस्तादृशी विश्वासभूमि नाधिशेषाहति आदश्या कल्याणसिद्धिः  
स्यात् । अत एव भवति प्रयोजनं युक्त्यात्मकस्य ‘न्याय’स्य । प्रसिद्धानामस्माकं  
पणां दर्शनानामस्वयनयोरेव समावेशः ॥

पठ्येतानि—पूर्वमीमांसोत्तरमीमांसा ( वेदान्त ) न्यायवैशेषिकसांख्ययोगाभि-  
धानि महर्पिणीत्सूत्रानि । तत्र भवति काचिद् विचिकित्या । यदि सर्वांगेतानि  
दर्शनानि महर्पिणीतानि महर्पयश्च सिद्धपुरुषाः सत्यवाचः सन्मार्गोपदेशकाः सर्वे,  
कथं तहि तैः प्रणीतेषु प्रचारितेषु च दर्शनेषु परस्परविरुद्धाः सिद्धान्ताः प्रतिपादिताः ।  
सुगृहमत्र तत्त्वं निषुणमतित्रिविपश्चिद्द्विः सम्यक् विचारणीयं भवति ।

सूक्ष्मेक्षिक्या विचारणायां दर्शनेष्टेषु कोऽपि तादृशो विरोधः पारमार्थिक-  
विपयेषु नोपलङ्घते । सर्वत्रात्यात्मिकाधिभौतिकश्चेष्योः सर्वे पदार्था अन्तर्भाविताः सर्वत्र  
च आध्यात्मिकपदार्थस्य प्राधान्यमाप्तिभौतिकस्य च गौणत्वं स्वीकृत्यते । साक्षात्  
परम्परया वा कर्तृत्वं नियन्त्रत्वं वा परमात्मन आत्मनो वा सर्वत्र स्वीकृतमेव । सांख्येऽपि  
परमस्यात्मनः कण्ठोऽनुकृत्वेऽपि सामान्यतः पुरुषपदवाच्य आत्मैव केवलं चेतनः  
तस्यैव च साच्चिद्येन तद्विसोक्षनिमित्ता च प्रकृतेः प्रवृत्तिरिति परम्परया चेतनस्यैव  
पुरुषस्य कर्तृत्वमायाति । सर्वत्र च ज्ञानादेव मुक्तिः—ज्ञानसाधनानि च कर्मणि—प्राकृत-  
कर्मसूलक पुरुषीवस्य संसारस्तत्त्वोपभोगश्च इत्यादिसमानमेव । आवान्तर विषयाणां  
विचारेषु मतभेदः स्पष्ट एव । परन्तु अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसविषये नास्त्यतीव वैमत्थम् ।  
कथं वा वैमत्यं भवेत्—यथा सर्वे महर्पयः साक्षात्कृतधर्माण एव कपिलपतञ्जलि-  
गौतमकणादजैमिनिव्यासदेवाः कथं धर्मैऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसविषये वैमत्यं भजेरन्  
विपरीतान् च उपदेशान् प्रवृत्यैयुः । अतो यत्कुत्रचिद् विपये मतभेदो इत्यते  
ऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधनविषये तत्र नास्ति तत्त्वतो वमत्यं केवलमधिकारिभेदेन  
तत्त्वसाधनानामुपदेशः । वेदान्तदर्शनोत्कर्षनामभ्यासः कोमलमतीनां सामा-  
न्यतो मनुष्याणामतीव कठिनइति विभाव्यैव नानाविधसाधनान्तराणां सुसाध्याना-  
मुपदेशः कृतो दर्शनान्तरेषु ।

एवमधिकारिभेदेन सर्वेषां दर्शनानामुपदेशः सामज्जस्यं भजते ।  
न्यायदर्शनस्याधिकतरजनेषुपयोगः स्पष्ट एव । पदार्थादीनां प्रमेयाणां प्रमाणानां च  
विचारः प्राकृतजनवौधसुलभ एवात्र लभ्यते । योगाद्यनुष्ठानसिद्धमतिपाटवादीना-  
मावश्यकता नानातीवपेक्ष्यते । अतः समर्तजनतोपकारसम्पादने न्यायशास्त्रं दर्शन-

शास्त्रपूर्वादेयतमं मन्यते—व्यवहृत्यते च तथैव शास्त्ररसिकैः । तथाहि दर्शनशास्त्रेषु प्रविविक्षुभिन्नर्यायशास्त्रमेवादावधीयते । तत्परिशीलनेन च शास्त्रान्तरबोधपाटवं लभ्यते । अस्मादेव कारणादिदं शास्त्रम् ।

‘प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योदेशो प्रकीर्तिं ॥’ इति प्राचीनमाभणकम् ॥

अस्य शास्त्रस्याद्यः सङ्कलयिता गौतमः । सर्वैऽचैत महर्षयः सार्वजनीनाः सार्वदेशीयाश्च । तथापि गौतमविषये विदुपां दृढतरो विश्वासो यदथं मिथिलादेशवासत्व्य आसीत् । अत्र च रामायणमेव प्रमाणम् । विश्वामित्रेण सह मिथिलां गतेन श्रीरामचन्द्रेण गौतमपत्न्या अहल्यायाः पतिशापात्पापाणमयशरीराया उद्धारः कृत इति रामायणे वर्णितम् । मिथिलायाम् ‘अहल्यास्थानम्’ इति नामा प्रसिद्धः प्रदेशोऽधुनापि वर्तते । तत्समीप एव च ‘गौतमकुण्ड’ नामा प्रसिद्धं तीर्थस्थानं समुपलभ्यते ॥

गौतमर्थिग्रन्थातं सूत्रं ‘गौतमसूत्रम्’ ‘न्यानेसूत्रम्’ इति प्रसिद्धम्—अध्यायपञ्चकात्मकम् । तत्राय एवाध्यायो गातमेन प्रणीतस्तत्रैव उपादेय विषयस्य परिसमाप्तिर्थयते—ततःपरं द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाध्यायाः केनचिदन्येन प्रथमाध्याय एवोक्तानां विषयाणां विस्तरेण व्याख्यानसूत्ररूपेणोपनिवद्धा इति केषां चिन्मतम् । ततु प्रमाणाभावादेवोपेक्षणीयम् । वात्स्यायनमारभ्य सर्वैर्याख्यात्मिति तदुपेक्षायाः समर्थकम् ।

न्यायसूत्रस्य व्याख्यानं वात्स्यायनात् प्राचीनेन केनचित् कृतमासीत्—तदन्तर्गतवाक्यान्येव बहुशो वात्स्यायनेन स्वकीये भाष्ये सञ्जिवेश्य स्वशब्देन व्याख्यातानीति केषां चिन्मतम् । एतदप्यसारम् । यानि वाक्यानि भाष्ये पुनरुक्तानीव प्रतिभासन्ते तानि नैव पुनरुक्तानि । सङ्क्षेपेणार्थं प्रदर्श्य पुनरस्तदर्थस्य स्वयमेव विशदीकरणमिति सकलप्राचीनभाष्यवृत्तिकाराणां शैली दृश्यते । ‘स्वपदानि च वर्णन्ते’ इति भाष्यलक्षणान्तर्गतं वाक्यं तस्या एव शैल्याः सूचकम् ।

न्यायसूत्रस्य प्राचीनतमं व्याख्यानं वात्स्यायनप्रणीतमेवोपलभ्यतेऽभ्यस्यते च न्यायशास्त्राध्येत्यनिवारणम् ॥ इतः परमुद्योतकराचार्यकृतं वार्तिकम्—वाचस्पतिमिश्रविरचिता न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका—उदयनाचार्यकृता तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिः—वर्धमानोपाध्यायकृतो न्यायनिबन्धप्रकाश इत्येवं सूत्रभाष्यपरम्परा । समुपलभ्यन्ते चैते ग्रन्थाः यद्यप्यन्तिमौ द्वावुनाऽसुद्धितात्वैव वर्तते ।

केषुचित् प्रधानेषु दार्शनिकविषयेषु न्यायसूत्रकारस्य स्वकीयः सिद्धान्तः कीदृश आसीदित्यत्र भाष्यवार्तिकतात्पर्यमहिन्ना जिज्ञासुमण्डलीषु सन्देहः समजायत । तद्यथा प्रत्यक्षलक्षणात्मके चतुर्थसूत्रे सूत्राक्षरमात्राणां तात्पर्यपर्यालोचनया प्रति-

भाति यन्निर्विकल्पकमेव सब प्रत्यक्षमिष्टम् । सविकल्पकनिर्विकल्पकोभयरूपं प्रत्यक्ष-  
मिति तात्पर्यकारेण सयुक्तिके खापितं विश्वसनीयं श्रद्धेयं चास्ति । परन्तु सूत्रा-  
क्षराणां स्वरसोऽपि तादश एव नवेति भवत्यत्र संशयः । एवमीश्वरकर्तुकसूष्टि-  
विषये सूत्रकारस्य मतं प्रसिद्धन्यायसिद्धान्तविपरीतभिवाभाति । तथ्यथा—तृतीयाध्याये  
आत्मप्रकरणे जीवात्मपरमात्मरूपेण विभागो नोपलभ्यते । चतुर्थाध्यायप्रथमाह्विकस्थो-  
नविशे सूत्रे ईश्वरकारणवादो यद्यपि कण्ठतः प्रोक्त उपलभ्यते—‘ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुष-  
कर्माफल्यदर्शनात्’ इति तथाऽपि अथमीश्वरकारणवादः शून्यतोपादानादिसंख्यै  
कान्तवादपर्यन्तैः सर्वथा हेयैः सह समाविष्टो दृश्यते । एतेषां च हेयपक्षाणां  
सर्वेषां विषये भाष्यकारेण चतुर्थाध्यायप्रथमाह्विकचतुर्दशसूत्रवितरणिकायां स्पष्टसुक्तम्—  
‘अतः परं प्रावादुकानां दृष्टयः प्रदर्शयन्ते’ इति । यत् ईश्वरस्य कारणत्वं  
‘प्रावादुकदृष्टिषु’ उपन्यस्तमित्यतीव विस्मापकम् । यद्यप्यस्य विस्मयजनकोप-  
न्यासस्य यथा कथंचित् समाधानं वार्तिकादिभिर्व्याख्यातुभिः कृतं तथापि तत्  
सर्वं न सन्तोषमावहति । तत्र च व्याख्यातपुषु वैमत्यमेव मुख्यं कारणम् ।  
‘प्रावादुकानां दृष्टयः प्रदर्शयन्ते’ इत्यनन्तरं वार्तिककृतोक्तम्—‘कानिचित् प्रतिपिघ्यन्ते  
कानिचिद्दुन्जायन्ते’ इति । तात्पर्यटीकानुसारेण तु ‘ईश्वरः कारणम्’ इति सूत्रं  
वेदान्तयभिमतमीश्वरस्योपादानकारणत्वं परामृशति—तत् सूत्रं पूर्वपक्षोऽज्ञावनपरम्—  
नैयायिकाभिमतमीश्वरस्य निभित्तकारणत्वमेकविशे सूत्रे प्रदर्शयते । ‘तत्कारिन्वाद-  
हेतुः’ इति सूत्रावतारकं तात्पर्यवाक्यम्—‘तदेवमीश्वरोपादानत्वं ब्रह्मविवरत्वं च  
निरपेक्षेश्वरनिमित्तत्वं च प्रत्याख्यायाभिमतं पश्चं गृह्णाति’ इति । सूत्रवृत्तौ विश्वनाथेन  
तु ‘ईश्वरः कारणम्’ इति सूत्रं सिद्धान्तपरत्वेन गृहीतम्—तात्पर्यकृतव्याख्याने  
चास्त्ररसः प्रदर्शितः—‘उपादानपरत्वे तु न किमपि मानमाकल्यामः’ इति ।  
‘यद्यपि सूत्रे कारणमिति सामान्यशब्दमत्थाऽप्युपादाने द्रष्टव्यः प्रकरणात्’ इति  
वदतोदयनाचार्येणापि तात्पर्यव्याख्याने ऽस्त्ररस एव सूचितः । एवं च ईश्वर-  
कारणत्वपक्षस्य ‘प्रावादुकदृष्टिषु’ प्रकरणे उज्ज्ञावनम्—तदुज्ज्ञावकसूत्रव्याख्याने व  
प्रधानव्याख्यातपु महान् मतभेदः—इत्येतत्सर्वमतीवकौतुकावहम् । इदमेव कारणं  
यत् दिङ्गानागादिभिर्वैद्वाचार्यगांतमसूत्रमात्मीयत्वेन परिगृहीतमिव प्रतिभाति ।  
एतत्तथमतथ्यं वा भवतु किन्तु गातमीयेषु सूत्रेष्वीश्वरकारणत्वपक्षस्योपोद्लकं प्रमाणं  
नैवोपलभ्यत इत्यनिच्छताऽपि रवीकरणीयं प्राप्नोति ॥

तत्त्वज्ञानासिप्रकाराद्यप्युपादेयं विषयजातमत्र शास्त्रे सम्यक्तया प्रतिपादितम् ।  
इतरदर्शनशास्त्रासाधारणं चैतत् यत्सम्पादिततत्त्वज्ञानस्य संरक्षणोपाया अप्यत्र-  
विशद्भुपन्यस्ताः । तथ्यथा । प्रथमाध्याये प्रथमाह्विके द्वाविशसूत्रमारम्भं अनु-  
मित्यवयपरीक्षणपुरस्सरं प्रमाणाणां व्यापारादिकं बहु प्रपञ्चितम्—ततः परं चतुर्था-

ध्यायस्य द्वितीयाहिकेऽन्तिमेषु पञ्चसु सूत्रेषु गृहीतस्य ज्ञानस्य संरक्षणोपायाः प्रदशिता  
‘ज्ञानग्रहणाभ्यासः——तद्विद्यैश्च सहसंवादः ( ४७ )——तं शिष्यगुरुसब्दव्याचारिविशिष्ट-  
श्रेयोऽर्थिभिः अनसूयुभिरस्युपेयात् ( ४८ )—प्रतिपक्षहीनमपि वा प्रयोजनार्थमर्थित्वे  
( ४९ )—तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणार्थं जल्पवितण्डे, बीजप्ररोहसंरक्षणार्थं कण्टकशाखा-  
वरणवत् ( ५० )—ताभ्यां विगृह्यकथनम् ( ५१ )’ इति ।

इदमेव तत्त्वज्ञानसंरक्षणं न्यायदर्शनरसिकानां परमरसाणीयतया परिणतिपथमा-  
रोहदवरोहच्च नव्यन्यायायरूपेणावतिष्ठमानो विपुलं वेतश्चमत्कारमादधाति विपश्चिताम् ॥

नव्यन्यायायस्य परमपिभूता मिथिलामहीसुपुत्रा गङ्गेशोपाध्यायाः । तत्कृतो  
ग्रन्थस्तत्त्वचिन्तामणिर्नाम नव्यन्यायस्य मूलसूत्रमिव भवति । तस्यानन्तासु दीकासु  
प्रथमः पक्षधरमिश्रकृत आलोकनामैवोपलभ्यते । आलोकस्य च व्याख्या दर्पण-  
नामिका मिथिलाराज्योपार्जकेन महेशठक्कुरेण निर्मिता । ततः परं च परश्चताईका  
रघुनाधशिरोमणिप्रभृतिर्निर्मिता इदानीन्तनैन्यायिकरीयन्ते ॥

अनेकशो मुदितेऽपि न्यायभाष्ये विद्यार्थिजनसुलभसंस्करणमपेक्षितमासीत् ।  
तदपेक्षापूरणायैवायमायासः । एवंरूप आयासः सम्यक्सम्पन्नो महापुण्याय कल्पते—  
अपूर्णं यथाकर्थं चित्सम्पन्नमप्यल्पपुण्यायैव भवतीति प्रवृत्तिकारणम् । किंकोटिकोऽ-  
यमायास इत्यत्र शास्त्रनिष्ठाता एव प्रमाणम् ॥ इति

प्रथाग  
बोधन्येकादशी १९१५ }

विदुपां वशंवदः  
गङ्गानाथद्वा शर्मा

## विषयानुक्रमणी

भूसिका	...	...	...	...	३- ७
न्यायसूचीनिबन्धः	...	...	...	...	९- २७
न्यायसूत्रभाष्यं टिप्पणीसहितम्	...	...	...	...	१-३४०
न्यायदर्शनस्यसूत्रसूचीपत्रम्...	...	...	...	...	३४१-३४९
न्यायदर्शनस्यविषयसूचीपत्रम्	...	...	...	...	३५१-३५६



॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

## अथ न्यायसूचीनिवन्धः ।

प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथममाहिकम् ।

नमामि धर्मविज्ञानवैराग्यैश्चर्यशालिने ।

निधये वाग्विशुद्धीनामक्षपादाय तापिने ॥ १ ॥

अक्षपादप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां सारबोधिका ।

श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण मया सूची विधास्यते ॥ २ ॥

प्रमाणप्रमेयसंशयप्रयोजननष्टान्तसिद्धान्तावयवत्कर्कनिर्णयवादजल्पवित-  
०७५हेत्वाभासच्छलजातिनिप्रहस्थानानां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः ॥ १ ॥  
दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिश्याज्ञानानामुक्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः ॥८॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यामभिवेयप्रयोजनसम्बन्धप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि ॥ १ ॥ इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं  
ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमन्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ २ ॥ अथ तत्पूर्वकं  
त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववच्छेषवत्सामान्यतो हृष्टं च ॥ ३ ॥ प्रसिद्धसाध्यमान्  
साध्यसाधनमुपमानम् ॥ ४ ॥ आप्नोपदेशः शब्दः ॥ ५ ॥ स द्विविधो द्वष्टा-  
दष्टार्थत्वान् ॥ ६ ॥

इति षड्भिः ६ सूत्रैः प्रमाणलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

आत्मशरीरेन्द्रियार्थवुद्धिमनःप्रवृत्तिदोषप्रेत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गस्तु प्रमे-  
यम् ॥ १ ॥ इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गम् ॥ २ ॥ चेष्टनिद्रियार्थाश्रयः  
शरीरम् ॥ ३ ॥ ग्रागरसनचक्षुस्त्वक्षोत्राणीन्द्रियाणि भूतेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥  
पृथिव्यापस्तेजो वायुराकाशमिति भूतानि ॥ ५ ॥ गन्धरससूपस्पर्शशब्दाः  
पृथिव्यादिगुणास्तदर्थाः ॥ ६ ॥ बुद्धिरूपलविधज्ञानमित्यनर्थान्तरम् ॥ ७ ॥ युग-  
पज्ञानानुत्पत्तिर्मनसो लिङ्गम् ॥ ८ ॥ प्रवृत्तिर्वाग्वुद्धिशरीरारम्भः इति ॥ ९ ॥  
प्रवर्तनालक्षणा दोषाः ॥ १० ॥ पुनरुत्पत्तिः प्रेत्यभावः ॥ ११ ॥ प्रवृत्तिदोष-  
जनितोउर्थः फलम् ॥ १२ ॥ बाधनालक्षणं दुःखम् ॥ १३ ॥ तदत्यन्तविमोक्षोऽ-  
पवर्गः ॥ १४ ॥

इति चतुर्दशाभिः १४ सूत्रैः प्रमेयलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

समानानेकधर्मोपपत्तेविप्रतिपत्तेहपलङ्घयनुपलङ्घयवस्थातश्च विशेषा-  
पेक्षो विमर्षः संशयः ॥ १ ॥ यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते तत्रयोजनम् ॥ २ ॥  
लौकिकपरीक्षकाणां यस्मिन्नर्थे बुद्धिसाम्यं स दृष्टान्तः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैन्यायपूर्वाङ्गलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

तन्त्राधिकरणाभ्युपगमसंस्थितिः सिद्धान्तः ॥ १ ॥ स चतुर्विधः सर्वतन्त्र-  
प्रतितन्त्राधिकरणाभ्युपगमसंस्थित्यर्थान्तरभावात् ॥ २ ॥ सर्वतन्त्राविरुद्धस्तन्त्रेऽ-  
धिकृतोऽर्थः सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तः ॥ ३ ॥ समानतन्त्रसिद्धः परतन्त्रासिद्धः प्रति-  
तन्त्रासिद्धान्तः ॥ ४ ॥ यस्मिद्वावन्यप्रकरणसिद्धिः सोऽधिकरणसिद्धान्तः ॥ ५ ॥  
अपरीक्षिताभ्युपगमात् तद्विशेषपरीक्षणमभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तः ॥ ६ ॥

इति पद्मभिः ६ सूत्रैन्यायाश्रयसिद्धान्तलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनान्यवयवाः ॥ १ ॥ साध्यनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञा  
॥ २ ॥ उदाहरणसाधम्यात् साध्यसाधनं हेतुः ॥ ३ ॥ तथा वैधम्यात् ॥ ४ ॥  
साध्यसाधम्यात् तद्वर्माबावी दृष्टान्त उदाहरणम् ॥ ५ ॥ तद्विपर्ययाद्वा विपरीतम्  
॥ ६ ॥ उदाहरणापेक्षस्तथेत्युपसंहारो न तथेति वा साध्यस्योपनयः ॥ ७ ॥  
हेत्वपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम् ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टभिः ८ सूत्रैन्यायप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

अविज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थे कारणोपपत्तितस्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थमूहस्तर्कः ॥ १ ॥ विमृश्य  
पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामर्थावधारणं निर्णयः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां न्यायोत्तराङ्गलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

इत्येकचत्वारिंशता ४१ सूत्रैः, सप्तभिः ७ प्रकरणैः

प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमाहिकं समाप्तम् ॥

अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ।

प्रमाणतर्कसाधनोपालभ्यः सिद्धान्ताविरुद्धः पञ्चावयवोपपत्तः पक्षप्रति-  
पक्षपरिह्रो वादः ॥ १ ॥ यथोक्तोपपत्तश्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानसाधनोपालभ्यो  
जल्पः ॥ २ ॥ स प्रतिपक्षस्थापनाहीनो वितण्डा ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः सूत्रैः कथालक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

सव्यभिचारविरुद्धप्रकरणसमाध्यसमकालातीता हेत्वाभासाः ॥ १ ॥  
अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचारः ॥ २ ॥ सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्य तद्विरोधी विरुद्धः ॥ ३ ॥

यस्मात् प्रकरणचिन्ता स निर्णयार्थमपदिष्टः प्रकरणसमः ॥४॥ साध्याविशेषः  
साध्यत्वात् साध्यसमः ॥ ५ ॥ कालात्ययापदिष्टः कालातीतः ॥ ६ ॥

इति प्रद्युमिः ६ सूत्रैः हेत्वाभासलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

वचनविधातोऽर्थविकल्पोपपत्त्या छलम् ॥ १ ॥ तत् त्रिविधं वाक्छलं  
सामान्यच्छलमुपचारच्छलं चेति ॥ २ ॥ अविशेषाभिहितेऽर्थे वक्तुरभिप्रायाद-  
र्थान्तरकल्पना वाक्छलम् ॥ ३ ॥ सम्भवतोऽर्थस्यातिसामान्ययोगादसमूत्तार्थ-  
कल्पना सामान्यच्छलम् ॥ ४ ॥ धर्मविकल्पनिर्देशोऽर्थसद्गावप्रतिषेधे उपचार-  
च्छलम् ॥ ५ ॥ वाक्छलमेवोपचारच्छलं तदविशेषात् ॥ ६ ॥ न, तदर्थान्तर-  
भावात् ॥ ७ ॥ अविशेषे वा किञ्चित्साधम्यादेकच्छलप्रसङ्गः ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टमिः ८ सूत्रैश्छललक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

साधम्यवधैर्म्याभ्यां प्रत्यवस्थानं जातिः ॥ १ ॥ विप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिपत्तिश्च  
निग्रहस्थानम् ॥ २ ॥ तद्विकल्पाज्ञातिनिग्रहस्थानवहृत्वम् ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैः पुरुषाशक्तिलिङ्गोपसामान्यलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति विंशत्या २० सूत्रैश्चतुर्भिः ४ प्रकरणैः प्रथमाध्यायस्य

द्वितीयमाहिकं समाप्तम् ॥

समाप्तश्च प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

अत्र प्रकरणानि ११, सूत्राणि ६१ ॥

अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथममाहिकम् ।

समानानेकवर्माध्यवसायादन्यतरवर्माध्यवसायाद्वा न संशयः ॥ १ ॥  
विप्रतिपत्त्यवस्थाध्यवसायाच्च ॥ २ ॥ विप्रतिपत्तौ च सम्प्रतिपत्तेः ॥ ३ ॥  
अऽयवस्थात्मनि व्यवस्थितत्वाच्चाऽयवस्थायाः ॥ ४ ॥ तथाऽस्यन्तसंशयस्त-  
द्वर्मसातत्योपपत्तेः ॥ ५ ॥ यथोक्ताध्यवसायादेव तद्विशेषापेक्षात् संशये नासं-  
शयो नात्यन्तसंशयो वा ॥ ६ ॥ यत्र संशयस्तत्रैवमुत्तरोत्तरप्रसङ्गः ॥ ७ ॥

इति सप्तमिः ७ सूत्रैः संशयपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

प्रत्यक्षादीनामप्रामाण्यं त्रैकाल्यासिद्धेः ॥ १ ॥ पूर्वं हि प्रमाणसिद्धौ  
नेन्द्रियार्थसञ्चिकर्षात् प्रत्यक्षोत्पत्तिः ॥ २ ॥ पञ्चात् सिद्धौ न प्रमाणेभ्यः  
प्रमेयसिद्धिः ॥ ३ ॥ युगपत्सिद्धौ प्रत्यर्थनियतत्वात् क्रमवृच्छित्वाभावो बुद्धीनाम्  
॥ ४ ॥ त्रैकाल्यासिद्धेः प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥ सर्वप्रमाणप्रतिषेधाच्च

प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः ॥ ६ ॥ तत्रामाण्ये वा न सर्वप्रमाणविप्रतिषेधः ॥ ७ ॥  
 त्रैकात्याप्रतिषेधश्च शब्दादातोद्यसिद्धिवत् तत्सिद्धेः ॥ ८ ॥ प्रमेया च तुला-  
 प्रामाण्यवत् ॥ ९ ॥ प्रमाणतः सिद्धेः प्रमाणानां प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धिप्रसङ्गः ॥ १० ॥  
 तद्विनिवृत्तेर्वा प्रमाणसिद्धिवत् प्रमेयसिद्धिः ॥ ११ ॥ न, प्रदीपप्रकाशसिद्धिवत्  
 तत्सिद्धेः ॥ १२ ॥ क्वचित्तु निवृत्तिदर्शनादनिवृत्तिदर्शनाच्च क्वचिदनैकान्तः ॥ १३ ॥  
 इति त्रयोदशभिः १३ सूत्रैः प्रमाणसामान्यपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

प्रत्यक्षलक्षणानुपपत्तिरसमग्रवचनात् ॥ १ ॥ नात्ममनसोः सञ्चिकर्षभावे  
 प्रत्यक्षोत्पत्तिः ॥ २ ॥ दिग्देशकालाकाशेष्वप्येवं प्रसङ्गः ॥ ३ ॥ ज्ञानलिङ्गत्वादा-  
 त्मनो नानवरोधः ॥ ४ ॥ तदयौगपद्यलिङ्गत्वाच्च न मनसः ॥ ५ ॥ प्रत्यक्ष-  
 निमित्तत्वाच्चेन्द्रियार्थयोः सञ्चिकर्षस्य स्वशब्देन वचनम् ॥ ६ ॥ सुप्रव्यासत्त-  
 मनसां चेन्द्रियार्थयोः सञ्चिकर्षनिमित्तत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥ तैश्चापदेशो ज्ञानविशेषा-  
 णाम् ॥ ८ ॥ व्याहतत्वादहेतुः ॥ ९ ॥ न, अर्थविशेषप्रावृत्यात् ॥ १० ॥

इति दशभिः १० सूत्रैः प्रत्यक्षलक्षणपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

प्रत्यक्षमनुमानमेकदेशप्रहणादुपलब्धेः ॥ १ ॥ न, प्रत्यक्षेण यावत्तावद-  
 प्युपलम्भात् ॥ २ ॥ न चैकदेशोपलच्छिरवरयविसद्वावात् ॥ ३ ॥ साध्यत्वाद-  
 वयविनि सन्देहः ॥ ४ ॥ सर्वाप्रहणमवयव्यसिद्धेः ॥ ५ ॥ धारणाकर्षणोप-  
 पत्तेश्च ॥ ६ ॥ सेनावनवद्रुहणमिति चेत्र, अतीन्द्रियत्वादणूनाम् ॥ ७ ॥

इति सप्तभिः ७ सूत्रैः प्रत्यक्षानुमानत्वपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

रोधोपवातसाहश्येभ्यो व्यभिचारादनुमानमप्रमाणम् ॥ १ ॥ न, एक-  
 देशत्राससाहश्येभ्योऽर्थान्तरभावात् ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यामनुमानपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

वर्तमानाभावः, पततः पतितपतितव्यकालोपपत्तेः ॥ १ ॥ तयोरप्य-  
 भावो वर्तमानाभावे, तदपेक्षत्वात् ॥ २ ॥ नातीतानागतयोरितरेतरापेक्षा सिद्धिः  
 ॥ ३ ॥ वर्तमानाभावे सर्वाप्रहणं प्रत्यक्षानुपपत्तेः ॥ ४ ॥ कृतताकर्तव्यतो-  
 पपत्तेस्तुभयथा प्रहणम् ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चभिः ५ सूत्रैवर्तमानपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् औषोदातिकम् ॥ ६ ॥

अत्यन्तप्रायैकदेशसाध्म्यादुपमानासिद्धिः ॥ १ ॥ प्रासिद्धसाध्म्यादुप-  
 मानसिद्धेयथोक्तदोषानुपपत्तिः ॥ २ ॥ प्रत्यक्षेणप्रत्यक्षसिद्धेः ॥ ३ ॥ नाप्रत्यक्षे

गवये प्रमाणार्थमुपमानस्य पश्याम इति ॥ ४ ॥ तथेत्युपसंहारादुपमान-  
सिद्धर्त्ताविशेषः ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चमिः ६ सूत्रैरुपमानपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

शब्दोऽनुमानमर्थस्थानुपलब्धेरनुमेयत्वात् ॥ १ ॥ उपलब्धेरद्विप्रवृत्ति-  
त्वात् ॥ २ ॥ सम्बन्धाच्च ॥ ३ ॥ आपोपदेशसामर्थ्याच्छब्दादर्थसम्प्रत्ययः  
॥ ४ ॥ पूरणप्रदाहपाटनानुपत्तेश्च सम्बन्धाभावः ॥ ५ ॥ शब्दार्थव्यव-  
स्थानादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ६ ॥ न, सामयिकत्वाच्छब्दार्थसम्प्रत्ययस्य ॥ ७ ॥  
जातिविशेषे चानियमात् ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टमिः ७ सूत्रैः शब्दसामान्यपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ८ ॥

तदप्रामाण्यमनृतव्याघातपुनरुक्तदोषेभ्यः ॥ १ ॥ न कर्मकर्तृसाधन-  
वैगुण्यात् ॥ २ ॥ अभ्युपेत्य कालभेदे दोषवचनात् ॥ ३ ॥ अनुवादोपपत्तेश्च  
॥ ४ ॥ वाक्यविभागस्य चार्थग्रहणात् ॥ ५ ॥ विध्वर्थवादानुवादवचनविनि-  
योगात् ॥ ६ ॥ विधिर्विधायकः ॥ ७ ॥ स्तुतिर्निन्दा परकृतिः पुराकल्प  
इत्थर्थवादः ॥ ८ ॥ विधिविहितस्थानुवचनमनुवादः ॥ ९ ॥ नानुवादपुनरुक्त-  
योर्विशेषः शब्दाभ्यासोपपत्तेः ॥ १० ॥ शीघ्रतरगमनोपदेशवदभ्यासानाविशेषः  
॥ ११ ॥ मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच्च तत्प्रामाण्यमाप्नप्रामाण्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैः शब्दविशेषपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ९ ॥

इति नवोन्तररघुष्ट्या ६९ सूत्रैनवामिः ९ प्रकरणैः द्वितीया-  
ध्यायस्थायमाहिकं समाप्तम् ॥

### अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ।

न चतुष्प्रमैतिह्यार्थापत्तिसम्भवाभावप्रामाण्यात् ॥ १ ॥ शब्द ऐतिह्या-  
नर्थान्तरभावादनुमानेऽर्थापत्तिसम्भवाभावानर्थान्तरभावाच्चाप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥  
अर्थापत्तिरप्रमाणमनैकान्तिकत्वात् ॥ ३ ॥ अनर्थापत्तावर्थापत्त्यभिमानात् ॥ ४ ॥  
प्रतिषेधप्रामाण्यं चानैकान्तिकत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥ तत्प्रामाण्ये वा नार्थापत्त्य-  
प्रामाण्यम् ॥ ६ ॥ नाभावप्रामाण्यं प्रमेयासिद्धेः ॥ ७ ॥ लक्षितेष्वलक्षण-  
लक्षितस्त्वादलक्षितानां तत्प्रमेयसिद्धिः ॥ ८ ॥ असत्यर्थे नाभाव इति चेत्र, अन्य-

लक्षणोपपत्तेः ॥ ९ ॥ तसिद्वेरलक्षितेष्वहेतुः ॥ १० ॥ न लक्षणावस्थितापेक्ष-  
सिद्धेः ॥ ११ ॥ प्रागुपत्तेरभावोपपत्तेश्च ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैः प्रमाणचतुष्परीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

आदिमत्त्वादैन्द्रियकत्वात् कृतकवदुपचाराच्च ॥ १ ॥ न वटाभा-  
वसामान्यनित्यत्वान्त्रित्येष्वयनित्यबदुपचाराच्च ॥ २ ॥ तत्त्वभाक्त्योर्नानात्व-  
विभागादृश्यभिचारः ॥ ३ ॥ सन्तानानुमानविशेषणात् ॥ ४ ॥ कारणद्रव्यस्य  
प्रदेशशब्देनाभिधानात् ॥ ५ ॥ प्रागुच्चारणादनुपलब्धेवावरणाच्चनुपलब्धेश्च ॥ ६ ॥  
तदनुपलब्धेरनुपलम्भादावरणोपपत्तिः ॥ ७ ॥ अनुपलम्भादृश्यनुपलब्धिसद्वावा-  
वावरणानुपपत्तिरनुपलम्भात् ॥ ८ ॥ अनुपलम्भात्मकत्वादनुपलब्धेहेतुः  
॥ ९ ॥ अस्पर्शत्वात् ॥ १० ॥ न, कर्मानित्यत्वात् ॥ ११ ॥ नाणुनित्यत्वात्  
॥ १२ ॥ सम्प्रदानात् ॥ १३ ॥ तदन्तरालानुपलब्धेहेतुः ॥ १४ ॥ अध्या-  
पनादप्रतिषेधः ॥ १५ ॥ उभयोः पक्षयोरन्यतरस्याध्यापनादप्रतिषेधः ॥ १६ ॥  
अभ्यासात् ॥ १७ ॥ नान्यत्वेऽप्यभ्यासस्योपचारात् ॥ १८ ॥ अन्यदन्यस्मा-  
दनन्यत्वादनन्यदित्यन्यताऽभावः ॥ १९ ॥ तदभावे नास्त्यनन्यता तयोरितरे-  
तरापेक्षसिद्धेः ॥ २० ॥ विनाशकारणानुपलब्धेश्च ॥ २१ ॥ अश्रवणकारणा-  
नुपलब्धेः सततश्रवणप्रसङ्गः ॥ २२ ॥ उपलभ्यमाने चानुपलब्धेरसन्त्वादनपदेशः  
॥ २३ ॥ पाणिनिमित्तप्रश्लेषान्त्यद्वाभावे नानुपलब्धिः ॥ २४ ॥ विनाशका-  
रणानुपलब्धेश्चावस्थाने तन्त्रित्यत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ २५ ॥ अस्पर्शत्वादप्रतिषेधः ॥ २६ ॥  
विभक्त्यन्तरोपपत्तेश्च समाप्ते ॥ २७ ॥

इति सप्तविंशतिभिः २७ सूत्रैः शब्दानित्यताप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

विकारादेशोपदेशात् संशयः ॥ १ ॥ प्रकृतिविवृद्धौ विकारविवृद्धेः ॥ २ ॥  
न्यूनसमाधिकोपलब्धेविर्काराणामहेतुः ॥ ३ ॥ द्विविधस्यापि हेतोरभावादसाधनं  
दृष्टान्तः ॥ ४ ॥ न, अतुल्यप्रकृतानां विकारविकल्पात् ॥ ५ ॥ द्रव्यविकारवैषम्य-  
वद्वर्णविकारविकल्पः ॥ ६ ॥ न, विकारधर्मानुपपत्तेः ॥ ७ ॥ विकारप्राप्तानाम-  
पुनरापत्तेः ॥ ८ ॥ सुवर्णादीनां पुनरापत्तेहेतुः ॥ ९ ॥ न, तद्विकाराणां सुवर्ण-  
भावाव्यतिरेकात् ॥ १० ॥ नित्यत्वेऽविकारादनित्यत्वे चानवस्थानात् ॥ ११ ॥  
नित्यानामतीनिद्रियत्वात् तद्वर्मविकल्पाच्च वर्णविकाराणामप्रतिषेधः ॥ १२ ॥  
अनवस्थायित्वे च वर्णोपलब्धिवत् तद्विकारोपपत्तिः ॥ १३ ॥ विकारधर्मित्वे

नित्यत्वाभावात् कालान्तरे विकारोपपत्तेश्चाप्रतिषेधः ॥ १४ ॥ प्रकृत्यनियमात् ॥ १५ ॥ अनियमे नियमान्नानियमः ॥ १६ ॥ नियमानियमविरोधादनियमे नियमाचाप्रतिषेधः ॥ १७ ॥ गुणान्तरापत्त्युपमर्दहासत्रुद्धिलेशश्वेभ्यस्तु विकारोपपत्तेवर्णविकारः ॥ १८ ॥

इति अष्टादशमिः १८ सूत्रैः शब्दपरिणामप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

ते विभृत्यन्ताः पदम् ॥ १ ॥ व्यक्त्याकृतिजातिसन्निधावुपचारात् संशयः ॥ २ ॥ या शब्दसमूहत्यागपरिग्रहसद्व्यावृद्ध्युपचयवर्णसमासानुबन्धानां व्यक्तावुपचाराद्विक्तिः ॥ ३ ॥ न, तदनवस्थानात् ॥ ४ ॥ सहचरणस्थानतादर्थ्यवृत्तमानधारणसामीप्ययोगसाधनाधिपत्येभ्यो ब्राह्मणमञ्चकटराजसकतुचन्दनगङ्गाशाटकान्नपुरुषेष्वतद्वावेऽपि तदुपचारः ॥ ५ ॥ आकृतिस्तदपेक्षत्वात् सत्त्वव्यवस्थानसिद्धः ॥ ६ ॥ व्यक्त्याकृतियुक्तेऽप्यप्रसङ्गात् प्रोक्षणादीनां मृद्वके, जातिः ॥ ७ ॥ नाकृतिव्यक्त्यपेक्षत्वाऽजात्यभिव्यक्तेः ॥ ८ ॥ व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयस्तु पदार्थः ॥ ९ ॥ व्यक्तिर्णुणविशेषाश्रयो मूर्तिः ॥ १० ॥ आकृतिर्जातिलङ्घाख्या ॥ ११ ॥ समानप्रसवात्मिका जातिः ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैः शब्दशक्तिपरीक्षा [पदार्थनिरूपण] प्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति नवोत्तरपञ्चम्या ६९ सूत्रैश्चतुर्भिः ४ प्रकरणौद्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ॥

समाप्तश्च द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अत्र प्रकरणानि १३, सूत्राणि १३८ ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथममाहिकम् ।

दर्शनस्पर्शनाभ्यामेकार्थप्रहणात् ॥ १ ॥ न विषयव्यवस्थानात् ॥ २ ॥ तद्व्यवस्थानादेवात्मसद्व्यावादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिमिः ३ सूत्रैरिन्द्रियव्यतिरित्तात्मप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

शरीरदाहे पातकाभावात् ॥ २ ॥ तदभावः सात्मकप्रदाहेऽपि तश्चियत्वात् ॥ २ ॥ न कार्यश्रयकर्तवधात् ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिमिः ३ सूत्रैः शरीरव्यतिरिक्तात्मप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

सब्यहष्टयेतरेण प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् ॥ १ ॥ नैकस्मिन्नासारिथन्यवहिते द्वित्वाभिमानात् ॥ २ ॥ एकविनाशे द्वितीयाविनाशान्नैकत्वम् ॥ ३ ॥ अवयव-

नाशेऽप्यवयव्युपलब्धेरहेतुः ॥ ४ ॥ दृष्टान्तावरोधादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ५ ॥ इन्द्रिया-  
न्तरविकारात् ॥ ६ ॥ न स्मृतेः स्मर्तव्यविषयत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥ तदात्मगुणसङ्घा-  
वादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टमिः ८ सूत्रैः प्रासङ्गिकं चक्षुरद्वैतनिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

नात्मप्रतिपत्तिहेतुनां मनसि सम्भवात् ॥ १ ॥ ज्ञातुर्ज्ञानसाधनोपपत्तेः  
सञ्चाभेदमात्रम् ॥ २ ॥ नियमश्च निरनुमानः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैरात्मनोमनोव्यतिरेकप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

पूर्वाभ्यस्तस्मृत्यनुवन्धाज्ञातस्य हर्षभयशोकसम्प्रतिपत्तेः ॥ १ ॥ पद्मा-  
दिषु प्रबोधसम्मीलनविकारवन् तद्विकारः ॥ २ ॥ न, उषणशीतवर्षाकालनिमित्त-  
वात् पञ्चात्मकविकाराणाम् ॥ ३ ॥ प्रेत्याहाराभ्यासकृतात् स्तन्याभिलाषात् ॥ ४ ॥  
अयसोऽप्यस्कान्ताभिगमनवत् तदुपसर्षणम् ॥ ५ ॥ न, अन्यत्र प्रवृत्त्यभावात्  
॥ ६ ॥ वीतरागजन्मादर्शनात् ॥ ७ ॥ सगुणद्रव्योत्पत्तिवत् तदुत्पत्तिः ॥ ८ ॥  
न, सङ्कल्पनिमित्तत्वाद्रागदीनाम् ॥ ९ ॥

इति नवमिः ९ सूत्रैरात्मनित्यताप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

पार्थिवं गुणान्तरोपलब्धेः ॥ १ ॥ पार्थिवाप्यतैजसं तदगुणोपलब्धेः ॥ २ ॥  
निःश्वासोच्छूवासोपलब्धेश्वातुर्भौतिकम् ॥ ३ ॥ गन्धहेत्पाकव्यूहावकाशदानेभ्यः  
पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥ ४ ॥ श्रुतिप्रामाण्याच्च ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चमिः ५ सूत्रैः शरीरपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

कृष्णसारे सत्युपलम्भादूर्वतिरिच्य चोपलम्भात् संशयः ॥ १ ॥  
महदण्डहणात् ॥ २ ॥ रक्ष्यर्थसन्निकर्षविशेषात् तदग्रहणम् ॥ ३ ॥ तदनु-  
पलब्धेहेतुः ॥ ४ ॥ नानुसीयमानस्य प्रत्यक्षतोऽनुपलब्धिरभावहेतुः ॥ ५ ॥  
द्रव्यगुणधर्मभेदाच्च उपलब्धिनियमः ॥ ६ ॥ अनेकद्रव्यसमवायादूपविशेषाच्च  
रूपोपलब्धिः ॥ ७ ॥ कर्मकारितश्चेन्द्रियाणां व्यूहः पुरुषार्थतन्त्रः ॥ ८ ॥  
मध्यन्दिनोल्काप्रकाशानुपलब्धिवत्तदनुपलब्धिः ॥ ९ ॥ न, रात्रावप्यनुपलब्धेः  
॥ १० ॥ बाह्यप्रकाशानुप्रहाद् विषयोपलब्धेरनाभिव्यक्तितोऽनुपलब्धिः ॥ ११ ॥  
आभिव्यक्तौ चाभिभवात् ॥ १२ ॥ नक्तक्षरनयनरश्मिदर्शनाच्च ॥ १३ ॥  
अप्राप्यप्रहणं काचाश्रपटलस्फटिकान्तरितोपलब्धेः ॥ १४ ॥ कुड्यान्तरितानुप-  
लब्धेरप्रतिषेधः ॥ १५ ॥ अप्रतिष्ठातात् सन्निकर्षोपपत्तिः ॥ १६ ॥ आदित्यरझे:

स्फटिकान्तरितेऽपि दाह्येऽविघातात् ॥ १७ ॥ नेतरेतरधर्मप्रसङ्गात् ॥ १८ ॥  
आदर्शोदकयोः प्रसादस्वाभाव्याद्रपोपलब्धिवत् तदुपलब्धिः ॥ १९ ॥ दृष्टा-  
नुभितानां हि नियोगप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः ॥ २० ॥

इति विंशत्या २० सूत्रैरन्द्रियभौतिकत्वपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

स्थानान्यत्वे नानात्वादव्यविनानास्थानत्वाच्च संशयः ॥ १ ॥ त्वग-  
व्यतिरेकात् ॥ २ ॥ न युगपदर्थानुपलब्धेः ॥ ३ ॥ विप्रतिषेधाच्च न त्वगेका  
॥ ४ ॥ इन्द्रियार्थपञ्चत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥ न, तदर्थबहुत्वात् ॥ ६ ॥ गन्धत्वाद्यव्यतिरेकाद-  
गन्धादीनामप्रतिषेधः ॥ ७ ॥ विषयत्वाद्यव्यतिरेकादेकत्वम् ॥ ८ ॥ न, बुद्धिलक्षणा-  
धिष्ठानगत्याकृतिजातिपञ्चत्वेभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥ भूतगुणविशेषोपलब्धेस्तादात्म्यम् ॥ १० ॥

इति दशमिः १० सूत्रैरन्द्रियनानात्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ८ ॥

गन्धरसरूपस्पर्शशब्दानां स्पर्शपर्यन्ताः पृथिव्याः ॥ १ ॥ अस्त्रजोवायूनां  
पूर्वं पूर्वमपोद्वाकाशस्योत्तरः ॥ २ ॥ न, सर्वगुणानुपलब्धेः ॥ ३ ॥ एकैकश्येनो-  
त्तरोत्तराणां तदनुपलब्धिः ॥ ४ ॥ विष्ट ह्यपरंपरेण ॥ ५ ॥ न, पार्थिवाप्ययोः  
प्रत्यक्षत्वात् ॥ ६ ॥ पूर्वपूर्वगुणोत्कर्षात् तत्तत्प्रधानम् ॥ ७ ॥ तद्यवस्थानं तु  
भूयस्त्वात् ॥ ८ ॥ सगुणानामिन्द्रियभावात् ॥ ९ ॥ तेनैव तस्याग्रहणाच्च ॥ १० ॥  
न, शब्दगुणवैधर्म्यात् ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैरर्थपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ९ ॥

इति त्रिसप्त्या ७३ सूत्रैर्नवमिः ९ प्रकरणैस्तृतीयाध्यायस्याद्यमाहिकं ।  
समाप्तम् ॥

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ।

कर्माकाशाधर्म्यात् संशयः ॥ १ ॥ विषयप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् ॥ २ ॥  
साध्यसमत्वादहेतुः ॥ ३ ॥ न, युगपदग्रहणात् ॥ ४ ॥ अप्रत्यभिज्ञाने च विनाश-  
प्रसङ्गः ॥ ५ ॥ क्रमवृत्तित्वादयुगपदग्रहणम् ॥ ६ ॥ अप्रत्यभिज्ञानं च विषया-  
न्तरव्याप्तिभावात् ॥ ७ ॥ न, गत्यभावात् ॥ ८ ॥ स्फटिकान्यत्वाभिमानवत्  
तदन्यत्वाभिमानः ॥ ९ ॥

इति नवमिः ९ सूत्रैर्द्वयनियताप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

स्फटिकेऽप्यपरापरोत्पत्तेः क्षणिकत्वाद्वक्तीनामहेतुः ॥ १ ॥ नियमहेत्व-  
भावाद्यथादर्शनमध्यनुज्ञा ॥ २ ॥ नोत्पत्तिविनाशकारणोपलब्धेः ॥ ३ ॥ क्षीर-

विनाशे कारणानुपलाभिवद्दद्युत्पत्तिवच तदुत्पत्तिः ॥ ४ ॥ लिङ्गतो  
ग्रहणान्नानुपलाभिः ॥ ५ ॥ न पयसः परिणामगुणान्तरप्रादुर्भावात् ॥ ६ ॥ व्यूहा-  
न्तराद्वद्वयान्तरोत्पत्तिर्दशनं पूर्वद्वयनिवृत्तेरनुमानम् ॥ ७ ॥ काचिद्विनाशकारणा-  
नुपलब्धेः क्वचिच्चोपलब्धेरनेकान्तः ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टमिः ८ सूत्रैरौपोद्धातिकं क्षणभङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

नेन्द्रियार्थयोस्तद्विनाशेऽपि ज्ञानावस्थानात् ॥ १ ॥ युगपञ्चेयानुपलब्धेश्च  
न मनसः ॥ २ ॥ तदात्मगुणत्वेऽपि तुल्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ इन्द्रियर्मनसः सञ्चिकर्षा-  
भावात् तदनुत्पत्तिः ॥ ४ ॥ नोत्पत्तिकारणानपदेशात् ॥ ५ ॥ विनाशकारणा-  
नुपलब्धेश्चावस्थाने तत्रित्यत्वप्रसङ्गः ॥ ६ ॥ अनित्यत्वग्रहणात् बुद्धेर्बुद्धयन्त-  
राद्विनाशः शब्दवत् ॥ ७ ॥ ज्ञानसमवेतात्मप्रदेशसञ्चिकर्षान्मनसः स्मृत्युत्पत्तेन  
युगपदुत्पत्तिः ॥ ८ ॥ नान्तःशरीरवृत्तित्वान्मनसः ॥ ९ ॥ साध्यत्वादहेतुः ॥ १० ॥  
स्मरतः शरीरधारणोपपत्तेरप्रतिषेधः ॥ ११ ॥ न तदाशुगतित्वान्मनसः ॥ १२ ॥  
न स्मरणकालानियमात् ॥ १३ ॥ आत्मप्रेरणयहच्छाङ्गताभिश्च न संयोगविशेषः  
॥ १४ ॥ व्यासक्तमनसः पादव्यथनेन संयोगविशेषेण समानम् ॥ १५ ॥  
प्रणिधानलिङ्गादिज्ञानानामयुगपद्मावादयुगपत्स्मरणम् ॥ १६ ॥ ज्ञस्येच्छाद्वेष-  
निमित्तत्वादारम्भनिवृत्योः ॥ १७ ॥ तद्विज्ञत्वादिच्छाद्वेषयोः पार्थिवाद्येष्व-  
प्रतिषेधः ॥ १८ ॥ परश्चादिष्वारम्भनिवृत्तिर्दर्शनात् ॥ १९ ॥ नियमानियमौ  
तु तद्विशेषकौ ॥ २० ॥ यथोक्तेतुत्वात् पारतन्त्रयादकृताभ्यागमाच न मनसः  
॥ २१ ॥ परिशेषाद्यथोक्तेतूपपत्तेश्च ॥ २२ ॥ स्मरणं त्वामनो ज्ञस्वाभाव्यात्  
॥ २३ ॥ प्रणिधाननिवन्धाभ्यासलिङ्गलक्षणसादृश्यपरिग्रहाश्रयाश्रितसम्बन्धा-  
नन्तर्यविषयौककार्यविरोधातिशयप्राप्तिव्यवधानसुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषभयार्थित्वक्रि-  
यारागधर्मार्थर्मनिमित्तेभ्यः ॥ २४ ॥

इति चतुर्विंशत्या २४ सूत्रैर्बुद्धेरात्मगुणत्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

कर्मानवस्थायिग्रहणात् ॥ १ ॥ अव्यक्तग्रहणमनवस्थायित्वादविद्युत्स-  
म्पाते रूपाव्यक्तग्रहणवत् ॥ २ ॥ हेतूपादानात् प्रतिषेद्वद्वयाभ्यनुज्ञा ॥ ३ ॥  
न प्रदीपार्चिः सन्तत्याभिव्यक्तग्रहणवत् तद्ग्रहणम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्मिः ४ सूत्रैर्बुद्धेरुत्पन्नापवर्गित्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

द्रव्ये स्वगुणपरगुणोपलब्धेः संशयः ॥ १ ॥ यावच्छुरीरभावित्वादपा-  
दीनाम् ॥२॥ न, पाकजगुणान्तरोत्पत्तेः ॥ ३ ॥ प्रतिद्वन्द्वसिद्धेः पाकजानाम-  
प्रतिषेधः ॥४॥ शरीरव्यापित्वात् ॥ ५ ॥ न, केशनखादिष्वनुपलब्धेः ॥ ६ ॥  
त्वकपर्यन्तत्वाच्छुरीरस्य केशनखादिष्वप्रसङ्गः ॥७॥ शरीरगुणवैधर्म्यात् ॥८॥  
न रूपादीनामितरेतरवैधर्म्यात् ॥ ९ ॥ ऐन्द्रियकत्वादूपादीनामप्रतिषेधः ॥१०॥

इति दशमिः १० सूत्रैवुद्देः शरीरगुणव्यतिरेकप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

ज्ञानायौगपद्यादेकं मनः ॥ १ ॥ न, युगपदनेकाक्रियोपलब्धेः ॥ २ ॥  
अलातचक्रदर्शनवत् तदुपलब्धिराशुसञ्चारात् ॥३॥ यथोक्तहेतुत्वाच्चाणु ॥४॥

इति चतुर्भिः सूत्रैर्मनःपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

पूर्वकृतफलानुवन्धात् तदुत्पत्तिः ॥ १ ॥ भूतेभ्यो मूर्त्युपादानवत् तदु-  
पादानम् ॥ २ ॥ न, साध्यसमत्वात् ॥ ३ ॥ नोत्पत्तिनिमित्तत्वान्मातापित्रोः  
॥ ४ ॥ तथाऽहारस्य ॥५॥ प्राप्तौ चानियमात् ॥६॥ शरीरोत्पत्तिनिमित्तवत्  
संयोगोत्पत्तिनिमित्तं कर्म ॥ ७ ॥ एतेनानियमः प्रत्यक्तः ॥ ८ ॥ तददृष्ट-  
कारितमिति चेत् पुनस्तत्प्रसङ्गोऽपवर्गे ॥ ९ ॥ मनःकर्मनिमित्तत्वाच्च संयो-  
गाद्यनुच्छेदः ॥ १० ॥ नित्यत्वप्रसङ्गश्च प्रायणानुपत्तेः ॥११॥ अणुश्याम-  
तानित्यत्ववदेतत् स्यात् ॥ १२ ॥ नाकृताभ्यागमप्रसङ्गात् ॥ १३ ॥

इति त्रयोदशमिः १३ सूत्रैः शरीरस्थादृष्टनिष्पादत्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

इति द्विसप्त्या ७२ सूत्रैः सप्तमिः ७ प्रकरण-

स्तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ॥

समाप्तश्च तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अत्र प्रकरणाणि १६, सूत्राणि १४५ ॥

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथममाहिकम्

प्रवृत्तिर्थोक्ता ॥ १ ॥ तथा दोषाः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां प्रवृत्तिदोषसामान्यपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

तत्त्रैराश्यं रागद्वेषमोहान्तरभावात् ॥ १ ॥ नैकप्रत्यनीकभावात् ॥२॥  
व्यभिचारादहेतुः ॥ ३ ॥ तेषां मोहः पापीयान् नामूदस्येतरोत्पत्तेः  
॥ ४ ॥ निमित्तनैमित्तिकभावादर्थान्तरभावो दोषेभ्यः ॥ ५ ॥ न,

दोषलक्षणावरोधादान्मोहस्य ॥६॥ निमित्तनैमित्तिकोपपत्तेश्च तुत्यजातीयानाम-  
प्रतिषेधः ॥ ७ ॥

इति सप्तमिः ७ सूत्रैर्दोषवैराद्यप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

आत्मनित्यत्वे प्रेत्यभावसिद्धिः ॥ १ ॥ व्यक्तादूच्यक्तानां प्रत्यक्षप्रामाण्यात्  
॥ २ ॥ न, घटादूघटानिष्पत्तेः ॥ ३ ॥ व्यक्तादूघटनिष्पत्तेरप्रतिषेधः ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः ४ सूत्रैः प्रेत्यभावपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

अभावाद्भावोत्पत्तिर्नानुपमृद्य प्रादुर्भावात् ॥ १ ॥ व्याघ्रातादप्रयोगः  
॥ २ ॥ नातीतानागतयोः कारकशब्दप्रयोगात् ॥ ३ ॥ विनष्टेभ्योऽनिष्पत्तेः  
॥ ४ ॥ क्रमनिर्देशादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चमिः ५ सूत्रैः शून्यतोपादानप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुषकर्मफल्यदर्शनात् ॥ १ ॥ न, पुरुषकर्मभावे फला-  
निष्पत्तेः ॥ २ ॥ तत्कारित्यत्वादहेतुः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिमिः ३ सूत्रैरीश्वरोपादानताप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

अनिमित्ततो भावोत्पत्तिः कण्टकतैक्षण्यादिदर्शनात् ॥ १ ॥ अनिमित्त-  
निमित्तत्वान्नानिमित्ततः ॥ २ ॥ निमित्तानिमित्तयोरथान्तरभावादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिमिः ३ सूत्रैराकस्मिकत्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

सर्वमनित्यमुत्पत्तिविनाशधर्मकत्वात् ॥ १ ॥ नानित्यतानित्यत्वात् ॥ २ ॥  
तदनित्यत्वमग्रेदाद्यां विनाश्यानुविनाशवत् ॥ ३ ॥ नित्यस्याप्रत्याख्यानं यथोप-  
लच्छिव्यवस्थानात् ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः ४ सूत्रैः सर्वनित्यत्वनिराकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

सर्वं नित्यं पञ्चभूतनित्यत्वात् ॥ १ ॥ नोत्पत्तिविनाशकारणोपलब्धेः  
॥ २ ॥ तल्लक्षणावरोधादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥ नोत्पत्तितत्कारणोपलब्धेः ॥ ४ ॥  
न व्यवस्थानुपत्तेः ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चमिः ५ सूत्रैः सर्वनित्यत्वनिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ ८ ॥

सर्वं पृथग् भावलक्षणपृथक्त्वात् ॥ १ ॥ नानेकलक्षणैरेकभावनिष्पत्तेः  
॥ २ ॥ लक्षणव्यवस्थानादेवप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिमिः ३ सूत्रैः सर्वपृथक्त्वनिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वमभावो भावेष्वितरेतराभावसिद्धेः ॥ १ ॥ न, स्वभावसिद्धेभावानाम् ॥ २ ॥ न स्वभावासिद्धिरापोक्षिकत्वात् ॥ ३ ॥ व्याहतत्वादयुक्तम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः ४ सूत्रैः सर्वशून्यतानिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ १० ॥

सङ्ख्यैकान्तासिद्धिः कारणानुपपत्युपपत्तिभ्याम् ॥ १ ॥ न कारणावयवभावात् ॥ २ ॥ निरवयवत्वादहेतुः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैः संख्यैकान्तवादनिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ ११ ॥

सद्यः कालान्तरे च फलनिष्पत्तेः संशयः ॥ १ ॥ न सद्यः कालान्तरोपभोग्यत्वात् ॥ २ ॥ कालान्तरेणानिष्पत्तिर्हेतुविनाशात् ॥ ३ ॥ प्राढ्यनिष्पत्तेवृक्षफलवत् तत् स्यात् ॥ ४ ॥ नासन्न सन्न सदसत् सदसतोर्वैधर्म्यात् ॥ ५ ॥ उत्पादव्ययदर्शनात् ॥ ६ ॥ बुद्धिसिद्धं तु तदसत् ॥ ७ ॥ आश्रयव्यतिरेकाद्वृक्षफलोत्पत्तिवदित्यहेतुः ॥ ८ ॥ प्रीतेरात्माश्रयत्वादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ९ ॥ न पुत्रस्त्रीपशुपरिच्छलदहिरण्यान्नादिफलनिर्देशात् ॥ १० ॥ तत्सम्बन्धात् फलनिष्पत्तेस्तेषु फलवदुपचारः ॥ ११ ॥

इति एकादशभिः ११ सूत्रैः फलपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १२ ॥

विविधबाधनायोगात् दुःखमेव जन्मोत्पत्तिः ॥ १ ॥ न, सुखस्याप्यन्तरालनिष्पत्तेः ॥ २ ॥ बाधनाऽनिवृत्तर्वेदयतः पर्येषणदोषादप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥ दुःखविकल्पे सुखाभिमानाच्च ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः ४ सूत्रैदुःखपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १३ ॥

ऋणक्षेशप्रवृत्त्यनुबन्धादपवर्गभावः ॥ १ ॥ प्रधानशब्दानुपपत्तेर्गुणशब्देनानुवादो निन्दाप्रश्नसोपत्तेः ॥ २ ॥ समारोपणादात्मन्यप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥ पात्रचयान्तानुपत्तेश्च फलाभावः ॥ ४ ॥ सुखुमस्य स्वप्रादर्शने क्षेशभावादपवर्गः ॥ ५ ॥ न प्रवृत्तिः प्रतिसन्धानाय हीनक्षेशस्य ॥ ६ ॥ न क्षेशसन्ततेः स्वाभाविकत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥ प्राणुपत्तेरभावानित्यत्ववत् स्वाभाविकेऽप्यनित्यत्वम् ॥ ८ ॥ अणुश्यामतानित्यत्ववद्वा ॥ ९ ॥ न, संकल्पनिमित्तत्वाच्च रागादीनाम् ॥ १० ॥

इति दशाभिः १० सूत्रैपवर्गपरीक्षाप्रकरणम् ॥ १४ ॥

इति अष्टपद्धत्या ६८ सूत्रैः, चतुर्दशाभिः १४ प्रकरणै-

श्चतुर्थाध्यायस्याद्यमाहिकम् ॥

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम्

दोषनिमित्तानां तत्त्वज्ञानादहङ्कारनिवृत्तिः ॥ १ ॥ दोषनिमित्तं रूपादयो  
विषयाः संकल्पकृताः ॥ २ ॥ तत्रिमित्तं त्ववयव्यभिमानः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैस्तत्त्वज्ञानोत्पत्तिप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

विद्याऽविद्याद्वैविध्यात् संशयः ॥ १ ॥ तदसंशयः पूर्वहेतुप्रासिद्ध-  
त्वात् ॥ २ ॥ वृत्त्यनुपत्तेरपि तर्हि न संशयः ॥ ३ ॥ कृत्स्नैकदेशा-  
वृत्तित्वादवयवानामवयव्यभावः ॥ ४ ॥ तेषु चावृत्तेरवयव्यभावः ॥ ५ ॥  
पृथक् चावयवेभ्योऽवृत्तेः ॥ ६ ॥ न चावयव्यवयवाः ॥ ७ ॥ एकस्मिन्  
भेदाभावादभेदशब्दप्रयोगानुपपत्तेरप्रशः ॥ ८ ॥ अवयवान्तरभावेऽप्यवृत्तेरहेतुः  
॥ ९ ॥ केशसमूहे तैमिरिकोपलविधवत् तदुपलविधः ॥ १० ॥ स्वविषयानति-  
क्रमेणन्दियस्य पटुमन्दभावाद्विषयप्रहणस्य तथाभावो नाविषये प्रवृत्तिः ॥ ११ ॥  
अवयवावयविप्रसङ्गश्चेवमाप्रलयात् ॥ १२ ॥ न प्रलयोऽणुसद्भावात् ॥ १३ ॥  
परं वा त्रुटेः ॥ १४ ॥

इति चतुर्दशाभिः १४ सूत्रैः प्रासाङ्किकमवयवावयविप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

आकाशावयतिभेदात् तदनुपपत्तिः ॥ १ ॥ आकाशासर्वगतत्वं वा  
॥ २ ॥ अन्तर्बहिश्च कार्यद्रव्यस्य कारणान्तरवचनादकार्ये तदभावः ॥ ३ ॥  
शब्दसंयोगविभवाच सर्वगतम् ॥ ४ ॥ अव्यूहाविष्टमविभुत्वानि चाकाशधर्माः  
॥ ५ ॥ मूर्तिमतां च संस्थानोपपत्तेरवयवसङ्गावः ॥ ६ ॥ संयोगोपपत्तेश्च  
॥ ७ ॥ अनवस्थाकारित्वादनवस्थानुपपत्तेश्चाप्रतिषेधः ॥ ८ ॥

इत्यष्टभिः ८ सूत्रौपोद्धातिकं निरवयवत्वप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

बुद्ध्या विवेचनात् भावानां याथात्म्यानुपलविधस्तत्त्वपकर्षणे  
पटसङ्गावानुपलविधवत् तदनुपलविधः ॥ १ ॥ व्याहृतत्वादहेतुः ॥ २ ॥  
तदाश्रयत्वादपृथग्प्रहणम् ॥ ३ ॥ प्रमाणतश्चार्थप्रतिषेधः ॥ ४ ॥ प्रमा-  
णानुपपत्त्युपपत्तिभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥ स्वप्नविषयाभिमानवदयं प्रमाणप्रमेया-  
भिमानः ॥ ६ ॥ मायागन्धवर्ननगरमृगतृष्णिकावद्वा ॥ ७ ॥ हेत्वभावा-  
दसिद्धिः ॥ ८ ॥ स्मृतिसंकल्पवच्च स्वप्नविषयाभिमानः ॥ ९ ॥  
मिथ्योपलवधेविनाशस्तत्त्वज्ञानान् स्वप्नविषयाभिमानप्रणाशवत् प्रति-

बोधे ॥ १० ॥ बुद्धेश्वैवं निमित्तसद्ग्रावोपलम्भात् ॥ ११ ॥ तत्त्वप्रधान-  
भेदाच्च मिथ्याबुद्धेऽविद्योपपत्तिः ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैः प्रासङ्गिकं वाचार्थभङ्गनिराकरणप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

समाधिविशेषाभ्यासात् ॥ १ ॥ न, अर्थविशेषप्रावलयात् ॥ २ ॥ क्षुदा-  
दिभिः प्रवर्त्तनाच्च ॥ ३ ॥ पूर्वकृतफलानुबन्धात् तदुत्पत्तिः ॥ ४ ॥ अरण्यगुहा-  
पुलिनादिषु योगाभ्यासोपदेशः ॥५॥ अपवर्गेऽप्येवं प्रसङ्गः ॥६॥ न, निष्पत्ता  
वश्यम्भावित्वात् ॥ ७ ॥ तदभावश्चापवर्गे ॥ ८ ॥ तदर्थं यमनियमाभ्यामात्म-  
संस्कारे योगाज्ञाध्यात्मविद्युपायैः ॥९॥ ज्ञानग्रहणाभ्यासस्तद्विद्यैश्च सह संवादः  
॥१०॥ तं शिष्यगुरुसत्रहचारिविशिष्टेयोऽर्थभिरनसूयुभिरभ्युपेयात् ॥११॥  
प्रतिपक्षहीनमपि वा प्रयोजनार्थमर्थित्वे ॥ १२ ॥

इति द्वादशमिः १२ सूत्रैस्तत्त्वज्ञानविवृद्धिप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणार्थं जल्पवित्तण्डे बीजप्रोहसंरक्षणार्थं कण्टकशाखा-  
वरणवत् ॥ १ ॥ ताभ्यां चिग्रूद्य कथनम् ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वादशां २ सूत्राभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानपरिपालनप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

इति एकपञ्चाशता ५९ सूत्रैः, षष्ठ्मिः ६ प्रकरणैश्चतुर्थार्थायस्य  
द्वितीयमाहिकं समाप्तम् ॥

समाप्तश्चायं चतुर्थोर्ध्यायः ॥

अत्र प्रकरणानि २०, सूत्राणि ११९ ॥

अथ पञ्च ध्यायस्य प्रथममाहिकम् ।

साधर्म्यवैधर्म्योत्कर्षपकर्षवर्णवर्णवर्णविकल्पसाध्यप्राप्त्यप्राप्तिप्रसङ्गप्रति-  
दृष्टान्तानुत्पत्तिसंशयप्रकरणहेत्वर्थापत्त्यविशेषोपपत्त्यनुपलब्ध्यनुपलब्धिनित्यानि-  
त्यकार्यसमाः ॥ १ ॥ साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यासुपसंहारे तद्भर्मविपर्ययोपत्तेः  
साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यसमौ ॥ २ ॥ गोत्वादगोसिद्धिवत् तत्सिद्धिः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैः सत्प्रतिपक्षदेशनाभासप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

साध्यदृष्टान्तोर्धर्मविकल्पादुभयसाध्यत्वाचोत्कर्षपकर्षवर्णवर्णवर्णविकल्प-  
साध्यसमाः ॥ १ ॥ किञ्चित्साधर्म्यादुपसंहारसिद्धेऽधर्म्यादप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥  
साध्यातिदेशाच्च दृष्टान्तोपत्तेः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैः साध्यदृष्टान्तधर्मविकल्पप्रभावोत्कर्षसमादिजातिषट्कप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

प्राप्य साध्यमप्राप्य वा हेतोः प्राप्त्याऽविशिष्टत्वादप्राप्त्याऽसाधक-  
त्वाच्च प्राप्त्यप्राप्तिसमौ ॥ १ ॥ घटादिनिष्पत्तिदर्शनात् पीडने चाभि-  
भिन्नारादप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां प्राप्त्यप्राप्तियुगनद्वाहिविकल्पोपक्रमजातिद्वयप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

दृष्टान्तस्य कारणानपदेशात् प्रत्यवस्थानाच्च प्रतिदृष्टान्तेन प्रसङ्गप्रति-  
दृष्टान्तसमौ ॥ १ ॥ प्रदीपोपादानप्रसङ्गविनिवृत्तिवत् तद्विनिवृत्तिः ॥ २ ॥  
प्रतिदृष्टान्तहेतुत्वे च नाहेतुर्दृष्टान्तः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैर्युगनद्वाहिप्रसङ्गप्रतिदृष्टान्तसमजातिद्वयप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

प्रागुत्पत्तेः कारणाभावादनुत्पत्तिसमः ॥ १ ॥ तथाभावादुत्पत्तस्य  
कारणोपपत्तेन कारणप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यामनुत्पत्तिसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

सामान्यदृष्टान्तयैरेन्द्रियकत्वे समाने नित्यानित्यसाधमर्थात् संशयसमः  
॥ १ ॥ साधमर्थात् संशये न संशयो वैधमर्थादुभयथा वा संशयेऽत्यन्तसंशय  
प्रसङ्गो नित्यत्वानभ्युपगमाच्च सामान्यस्याप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां संशयसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

उभयसाधमर्थात् प्रक्रियासिद्धेः प्रकरणसमः ॥ १ ॥ प्रतिपक्षात्  
प्रकरणसिद्धेः प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः प्रतिपक्षोपपत्तेः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां प्रकरणसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

त्रैकालयानुपपत्तेर्हेतुरहेतुसमः ॥ १ ॥ न हेतुतः साध्यसिद्धेष्वै-  
काल्यासिद्धिः ॥ २ ॥ प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तेश्च प्रतिषेद्व्याप्रतिषेधः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सत्रैरहेतुसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ८ ॥

अर्थापात्तिः प्रतिपक्षसिद्धेरर्थापत्तिसमः ॥ १ ॥ अनुकूरवार्थापत्तेः  
पक्षहानेस्तपत्तिरनुकूरत्वादनैकान्तिकत्वाच्चार्थापत्तेः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यामर्थापत्तिसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ९ ॥

एकधर्मोपपत्तेरविशेषे सर्वाविशेषप्रसङ्गात् सद्वावोपपत्तेरवेशेषसमः  
॥ १ ॥ क्वचित् तद्वर्मोपपत्तेः क्वचिच्चानुपपत्तेः प्रतिषेधाभावः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यामविशेषप्रसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १० ॥

उभयकारणोपपत्तेनुपपत्तिसमः ॥ १ ॥ उपपत्तिकारणाभ्यनुज्ञाना-  
दप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यासुपपत्तिसमप्रकरणम् ॥ ११ ॥

निर्दिष्टकारणभावेऽनुपलम्भादुपलब्धिसमः ॥ १ ॥ कारणान्तरादपि  
तद्वर्मोपपत्तेरप्रतिषेधः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यासुपलब्धिसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १२ ॥

तदनुपलब्धेरनुपलम्भादभावसिद्धौ तद्विपरीतोपपत्तेनुपलब्धिसमः ॥ १ ॥  
अनुपलम्भात्मकत्वादनुपलब्धेरहेतुः ॥ २ ॥ ज्ञानविकल्पानां च भावाभाव-  
संवेदनादध्यात्मम् ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैरनुपलब्धिसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १३ ॥

साधर्म्यान् तुत्यधर्मोपपत्तेः सर्वानित्यत्वप्रसङ्गादनित्यसमः ॥ १ ॥  
साधर्म्यादसिद्धेः प्रतिषेधासिद्धिः प्रतिषेध्यसाधर्म्याच्च ॥ २ ॥ दृष्टान्ते च  
साध्यसाधनभावेन प्रज्ञातस्य धर्मस्य हेतुत्वान् तस्य चोभयथाभाव-  
ज्ञाविशेषः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैरनित्यसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १४ ॥

नित्यमनित्यभावादनित्ये नित्यत्वोपपत्तेनित्यसमः ॥ १ ॥ प्रति-  
षेधे नित्यमनित्यभावादनित्ये नित्यत्वोपपत्तेः प्रतिषेधाभावः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां नित्यसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १५ ॥

प्रयत्नकार्यानेकत्वान् कार्यसमः ॥ १ ॥ कार्यान्यत्वे प्रयत्नाहेतुत्वमनुप-  
लब्धिकारणोपपत्तेः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्रैः कार्यसमप्रकरणम् ॥ १६ ॥

प्रतिषेधेऽपि समानो दोषः ॥ १ ॥ सर्वत्रैवम् ॥ २ ॥ प्रतिषेधवि-  
प्रतिषेधे प्रतिषेधदोषवदोषः ॥ ३ ॥ प्रतिषेधं सदोषमभ्युपेत्य प्रतिषेध-  
विप्रतिषेधे समानो दोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा ॥ ४ ॥ स्वपक्षलक्षणापेक्षोपपत्त्य-  
पसंहारे हेतुर्निर्देशे परपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमान् समानो दोषः ॥ ५ ॥

इति पञ्चमिः ५ सूत्रैः पट्पक्षीरूपकथाभासप्रकरणम् ॥ १७ ॥

इति त्रिचत्वारिंशता ४३ सूत्रैः, सप्तदशमिः १७

प्रकरणैः पञ्चमाध्यायस्याद्यमाहिकं समाप्तम् ।

अथ पञ्चमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयमाहिकम् ।

प्रतिज्ञाहानिः प्रतिज्ञान्तरं प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः प्रतिज्ञासञ्चासो हेत्वन्तर-  
मर्थान्तरं निरर्थकमविज्ञातार्थमपार्थकमप्राप्तकालं न्यूनमधिकं पुनरुक्तमनुभाषण-  
मज्ञानमप्रतिभा विक्षेपो मतानुज्ञा पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं निरनुयोज्यानुयोगोऽप-  
सिद्धान्तो हेत्वाभासाश्र निग्रहस्थानानि ॥ १ ॥ प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्माभ्यनुज्ञा स्वदृष्टान्ते  
प्रतिज्ञाहानिः ॥ २ ॥ प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात् तदर्थनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरम्  
॥ ३ ॥ प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः ॥ ४ ॥ पक्षप्रतिषेधे प्रतिज्ञातार्थापन-  
यनं प्रतिज्ञासञ्चासः ॥ ५ ॥ अविशेषोक्ते हेतौ प्रतिषिद्धे विशेषमिच्छतो  
हेत्वन्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥

इति षड्भिः ६ सूत्रैः प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वन्यतराश्रितनिग्रहस्थानपञ्चक-  
विशेषलक्षणप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥

प्रकृतादर्थादप्रतिसम्बन्धार्थमर्थान्तरम् ॥ १ ॥ वर्णक्रमनिर्देशविश्वार्थकम्  
॥ २ ॥ परिषद्प्रतिवादिभ्यां त्रिरभिहितमध्यविज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थम् ॥ ३ ॥ पौर्वा-  
पर्यायोगादप्रतिसम्बन्धार्थमपार्थकम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः ४ सूत्रैः प्रकृतोपयोगिवाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तिफलशून्य-  
निग्रहस्थानचतुर्षकप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥

अवयवविषयासवचनमप्राप्तकालम् ॥ १ ॥ हीनमन्यतमेनाप्यवयवेन  
न्यूनम् ॥ २ ॥ हेतूदाहरणाविकमधिकम् ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैः स्वसिद्धान्तानुरूपप्रयोगभासनिग्रहस्थान-  
विकप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥

शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमन्यत्रानुवादात् ॥ १ ॥ अर्थादापन्नस्य  
स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तम् ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां पुनरुक्तानिग्रहस्थानप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥

विज्ञातस्य परिषदा त्रिरभिहितस्याप्यप्रत्युच्चारणमनुभाषणम् ॥ १ ॥  
अविज्ञातं चाज्ञानम् ॥ २ ॥ उत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा ॥ ३ ॥ कार्यव्यास-  
ज्ञान् कथाविच्छेदो विक्षेपः ॥ ४ ॥

इति चतुर्भिः सूत्ररुतरविरोधिनिग्रहस्थानचतुर्षकप्रकरणम् ॥ ५ ॥

स्वपक्षे दोषाभ्युपगमान् परपक्षे दोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ निग्रह-  
स्थानप्राप्तस्यानिग्रहः पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणम् ॥ २ ॥ अनिग्रहस्थाने निग्रहस्थाना-  
भियोगो निरनुयोज्यानुयोगः ॥ ३ ॥

इति त्रिभिः ३ सूत्रैर्दोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा दिनिग्रहस्थानत्रिकप्रकरणम् ॥ ६ ॥

सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्यानियमान् कथाप्रसङ्गोऽपसिद्धान्तः ॥ १ ॥ हेत्वाभा-  
साश्च यथोक्ताः ॥ २ ॥

इति द्वाभ्यां २ सूत्राभ्यां कथकान्योक्तिनिरूप्यनिग्रहस्थानद्रव्यप्रकरणम् ॥ ७ ॥

इति चतुर्विंशत्या २४ सूत्रैः, सप्तभिः ७ प्रकरणैः पञ्चमाध्यायस्य  
द्वितीयमाहिकं समाप्तम् ।

समाप्तश्च पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

अत्र प्रकरणानि २४१ सूत्राणि ६७ ॥

आस्मिन् न्यायशास्त्रे ५४्यायाः ५, आहिकानि १०, प्रकरणानि ८४,  
सूत्राणि ५२०, पदानि २०६, अक्षराणि ८४१ ॥

यदलम्भि किमपि पुण्यं दुस्तरकुनिवन्धपञ्चमग्रानाम् ।

श्रीगोत्तमसुग्रीवानामतिजरतीनां समुद्धरणात् ॥ १ ॥

संसारजलधिसेतौ वृषकेतौ सकलदुःखशमहेतौ ।

एतस्य फलमस्थिलमपिर्तमेतेन प्रीयतामीशः ॥ २ ॥

न्यायसूचीनिवन्धोऽसावकारि सुधियां मुदे ।

श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वद्ववसु( ८९८)वत्सरे ॥ ३ ॥

इति श्रीन्यायाचार्यसन्मिश्रश्रीवाचस्पतिविरचितो न्यायसूचीनिवन्धः समाप्तः ।

शुभमस्तु ॥

## न्यायसूत्रस्य शुद्धिपत्रम्

पृष्ठ	पंक्ति:	अशुद्धं	शुद्धं
३	१५	विद्यः	विद्याः
५	११	स प्राम्	सर्वेषाम्
११	१	द्वितीयं	तृतीयं
११	७	प्रमाणानीति	प्रमाणानीति
१६	८	सम्बयते	गम्बध्यते
२८	३२	निता	तार्नि
३२	६	दनापा	पादनापा-
५५	१६	सामन्यगतौ	सामान्यगतौ
५९	२	जह्प	जह्पः
७२	२	प्रति तिश्च	प्रतिपत्तिश्च
७७	९	लब्ध्यव्यस्था	लब्ध्यव्यवस्था
७८	५	व्यवस्थितत्वाति	व्यवस्थितत्वादिति
८१	११	लविष्टताति	लविष्टताति
८१	१५	प्रतिषेधानुपत्तिः	प्रतिषेधानुपत्तिः
८८	१०	प्रमाणि	प्रमाणानि
९३	३	तांत्रौ	तीत्रौ
१०८	८	वृन्तात्प्रयुतस्य	वृन्तात्प्रच्युतस्य
१०९	१०	अव्याकरणीय	अव्याकरणीय
११७	२	हृति	इति
१२५	८	वास्त्यायनीये	वास्त्यायनीये
१२६	६	निहिष्पवक्तृकं	निर्दिष्पवक्तृकं
१२८	३	प्रमेयम्	प्रमेयम्
१३२	८	शब्दमभिवर्ति	शब्दमभिभवति
१३३	१२	महानानुपत्तिः	महानानुपत्तिः
१३५	३	उपलब्धरेनुपलब्धेः	उपलब्धरेनुपलब्धेः
१३८	३	लिङ्गोनोप	लिङ्गोनोप-
१४४	२	आदेशोपदेशस्तत्त्वम्	आदेशोपदेशस्तत्त्वम्
१५०	५	निवार्तिक	निवार्तिका
१६४	१७	द्राविमावथा	द्राविमावर्थौ
१६९	२	सिद्धमूर्द्धमपि	सिद्धमूर्द्धमपि

१६९	८	इयमूद्धं	इयमूर्वं
१७०	२१	त्येवोद्धं	त्येवोर्वं
१७५	८	स्पृति	स्पृति
१८३	१२	प्रकरणम्	प्रकरणम्
१८४	१३	तस्मानैकम्	तस्मानैकम्
१८६	२०	तैरैव	तैरैव
१८९	८	तरब्	तैरब्
१९५	९	स्वल्बयं	खल्वयं
२१०	१३	ज्ञानानायुगपद्	ज्ञानानामयुगपद्
२२२	२	शब्दव	शब्दवत्
२२२	१३	स्मृतिहेतुः	स्मृतिहेतुः
२२३	१९	प्रतियक्तं	प्रतिव्यक्तं
२३०	१३	वात् क्रमे	त्वात् क्रमे
२३०	१५	नुमीयेत	इनुमीयेत
२५४	८	अनिमित्तनि त	अनिमित्तनिमित्त
२५९	१	प्रथमाध्याये चतुर्था-	चतुर्थाध्याये प्रथमा
२८१	११	खल्वाहः	खल्वाहुः
३०५	१६	प्रलभ्मात्	पलभ्मात्
३०९	९	प्रहीणार्थः	प्रहाणार्थः
३०९	१७	रनुसुविभिर	रनुसूयूभिर
३१२	७	संशयप्ररणा	संशयप्रकरणा
३१२	७	विशेषोपपत्यूप	विशेषोपपत्यु
३१५	३	स्यानुलब्धे-	स्यानुपलब्धे-
३३८	२	त्रिरभिहितस्य	त्रिरभिहितस्य
३३८	३	अप्रत्युच्चारथम्	अप्रत्युच्चारणम्
		भूमिकायां	
४	१३	मतिभिः	मतिभिः
५	१३	न्यानेसूत्रम्	न्यायसूत्रम्
७	१२	रघुनाथशिरोमणि प्रभृतिर्निः—	रघुनाथशिरोमणि- प्रभृतिर्भिर्निः—
७	१३	मुदितेऽपि	मुदितेऽपि
८	६	विषसूची	विषयसूची

factors (such as Propulsion and the like) that were conducive to the appearance of the Embellishment ;—in the case in question on the other hand, when Consciousness ceases to appear in the Body, the Body is exactly what it was when Consciousness appeared in it [ and there is no deprival of any factors, the only cause of Consciousness, according to the Opponent, consisting in the Body itself, which is still intact ]. Hence (the case of Consciousness not being analogous to that of Embellishment) it is not right to urge, in answer to our argument, that “the absence of Consciousness in the Body is like the absence of Embellishment”.

If (in order to escape from the said difficulty) it be held that the cause of Consciousness in the Body is something else (and not the Body itself), then this cause could subsist either in the Body itself, or in some other Substance, or in both (the Body as well as another Substance). And none of these views can be maintained ; because there would be no reason for any restriction (such as the following) : (a) The cause of Consciousness subsisting in the Body itself, there would be no reason for any such restriction as that Consciousness should appear therein at certain times, and not at others ;—(b) the cause of Consciousness being in some other substance, there can be no reason for the restriction that while Consciousness appears in the Body, it does not appear in pieces of stone and such other things ;\*—(c) if the cause of Consciousness subsists in both (Body and the other substance), there can be no reason for the restriction that Consciousness appears in the Body, and not in other substances that belong to the same category as that Body.

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

Some people might argue thus:—“In the case of the object possessed of the quality of dark colour (e.g. the unbaked Jar), we find that there is cessation of that Colour (while the object continues to exist); and in the same manner there may be cessation of the quality of Consciousness (while the Body, of which it is a quality, continues to exist)”.

#### Sūtra 48

**This however is not right; because (in the case of the object cited) there is appearance of another Colour due to baking.**

\* Puri Ms. B rightly reads a *na* after ‘*loṣṭādiśvityatra*.’

## BHĀSYA

In the case of the object cited (*i.e.* the jar) there is not a total disappearance of all Colour; all that happens is that the *dark* Colour having disappeared, another Colour, *red*, is produced by baking;—in the case of the Body, on the other hand, there is, at death, a total disappearance of Consciousness (and nothing appears in its place).\*

## Sūtra 49

Further,

**Inasmuch as qualities produced by heat are found to be due to the presence of counter-active forces, the criticism based upon the analogy of these cannot be right.**

## BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, qualities are found to be produced by heat in only such substances in which there are present forces counter-active (destructive) of the previous quality; that this is so is shown by the fact that the qualities produced by heat are incompatible with the previous qualities. In the Body, on the other hand, we do not find present any force counteractive of the quality of Consciousness,—by reason of the presence whereof there could appear any new quality incompatible with the (previous) quality of Consciousness; and it is only from the appearance of such new quality that the counter-action (destruction) of Consciousness (and hence the impossibility of its continuing as long as the Body lasts) could be inferred. Thus there being nothing to counteract the quality of Consciousness, it should continue in the Body as long as the Body lasts (if it is a quality of the Body). As a matter of fact, however, it does not so continue to exist. Hence the conclusion is that Consciousness is not a quality of the Body.

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

For the following reason also Consciousness cannot be a quality of the Body:—

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\* Viśvanātha takes this *Sūtra* as coming from the Opponent; the meaning being—“The Siddhānta view is not right; as we find new colours produced (and old ones destroyed) by heat, while yet the substance remains the same.”

*Sūtra 50*

**Because it pervades over the entire Body.\***

BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, like the Body, all its component parts also are pervaded by the appearance of Consciousness ; and there is not a single part of the Body where Consciousness does not appear ; under the circumstances, if Consciousness belonged to the Body, this would mean that, like the Body, all its component parts are Conscious, and hence in each single person there would be several conscious entities ! So that, just as the restriction in regard to Pleasure, Pain and Cognition [that the Pleasure appearing in Devadatta's body is felt by him alone, and not by Yajñadaṭṭa and so forth] is indicative of the fact that there are several conscious beings—one to each individual body,—so would it also be in regard to the single body [every component part of which being endowed with Consciousness, it would follow that there is restriction as to the Pleasure, etc., of each such part ; so that the Pleasure appearing in one part of the Body would be felt by that part alone, and not by any other part of that same Body]. As a matter of fact, however, no such thing actually happens. Hence we conclude that Consciousness is not a quality of the Body.

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

[*Objection*] “It has been said that ‘there is no part of the body where Consciousness does not appear’ ; but—

*Sūtra 51*

“ This is not right ;† as it is not found in such parts of the body as hairs and nails.

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\* According to the *Parisuddhi*, this Sūtra contains the following argument :—‘Consciousness cannot be a specific quality of the Body—because it is a quality that pervades over the whole of its substratum,—like Sound.’ It goes on to remark,—‘This meaning of the Sūtra was so clear and patent that the *Bhāṣyakāra* did not think it necessary to mention it, and he put down only that interpretation of it whereby it became connected with, and introductory to, the following Sūtras.’

† The *na*, appearing in the *Viz.* text as part of the *Bhāṣya*, should form part of the *Sūtra* ; such being the reading of all *Sūtra-texts*.

## BHĀSYA

"In hairs and in nails we do not feel any Consciousness appearing ; so that it is not right to say that *it pervades over the entire body.*"

## Sūtra 52

[Answer]—Inasmuch as the Body extends only so far as the skin, there is no possibility of Consciousness appearing in such things as Hairs and Nails.

## BHĀSYA

'Body' has been defined as 'the substratum of Sense-organs' ; so that the Body, which is the receptacle of life, mind, pleasure, pain and cognition, can be regarded as extending only up to the skin ; hence it is natural that no Consciousness would appear in the Hairs and Nails. The presence of such things as Nails and Hairs in the Body is due to the action of certain things [and they do not form constituent parts of the Body].

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

For the following reason also Consciousness cannot be a quality of the Body :—

## Sūtra 53

**Because it differs in character from the qualities of the Body.**

## BHĀSYA

Qualities belonging to the Body are of two kinds—(1) Imperceptible, e.g., Gravity, and (2) Perceptible by the senses, e.g., Colour, etc. Consciousness is a quality of a totally different kind from the said qualities : It cannot be regarded as *imperceptible*, because it is capable of being sensed (perceived) by itself ; nor can it be regarded as *perceptible by the senses*, because it is cognisable by the Mind.\* From this it follows that Consciousness is the quality of a substance totally different from the Body.

\* The correct order appears in the *Vārtika*. The right reading would appear to be नाप्रत्यक्षम् मनोविषयत्वात् नेन्द्रियग्राह्य संसन्देशात् and the right translation should be—"It cannot be regarded as *imperceptible*, as it is *perceived* by the Mind (which is an organ) ; nor can it be regarded as *perceptible* (i.e. perceived through an organ), as it is *cognised by itself*."

*Sūtra 54*

[*Objection*]—“ What is urged is not right ; as there is difference in character among Colour and other qualities (belonging to the Body) ”.

## BHĀSYA

“ Just as, even though differing in character from one another, Colour and the other qualities do not cease to be qualities of the Body, in the same manner, Consciousness also, though differing in character from Colour and the other qualities, need not cease to be a quality of the Body.”

*Sūtra 55*

[*Answer*]—Inasmuch as Colour and the other qualities (of the Body) are perceptible by the Senses, there is no incongruity in these (belonging to the Body).

## BHĀSYA

‘ *Also because they are not perceptible*’—(this should be added to the *Sūtra*) ; [the meaning of the *Sūtra* being] Colour etc, though differing among themselves, yet do not go beyond the limits of the two kinds (mentioned under *Sū. 53*) ; and Consciousness also, differing from Colour etc., should fall within the limits of these two kinds, if it were really a quality of the Body ;—as a matter of fact, however, Consciousness is found (as shown under *Sū. 53*) to lie beyond the limits of the said two kinds :—hence it follows that Consciousness cannot be a quality of the Body.

Though the fact of Consciousness not belonging to the Body has already been established by what has been said above (in Section 3) in regard to Cognition not belonging to Material Substances, or Sense-organs, or Mind,—yet it has been dealt with over again (in the present Section), for the purpose of stating additional arguments (such as pertain to the Body specifically) ; specially because the more is truth investigated the more fully established it becomes.

*End of Section 5*

SECTION (6)  
[Sūtras 56-59].

*Treating of the Mind.*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The character of Apprehension having been examined, it is now the turn of Mind to be examined ; and the question arising —Is there only one Mind in each body, or several ? \*—[the answer is—

Sūtra 56

**The Mind must be one only : since there is non-simultaneity of Cognitions.**

There are two kinds of ‘non-simultaneity of cognitions’—(1) the non-simultaneity of several cognitions produced through the same Sense-organ, and (2) the non-simultaneity of cognitions of several things produced through several Sense-organs. Of these two the former is not what is spoken of as indicating the singleness of the Mind,—this ‘non-simultaneity’ being due to the fact that one Instrument (such as Sense-organs are) can, by its very nature, accomplish only one thing at a time :—it is the latter ‘non-simultaneity’ of the cognitions of several things through several Sense-organs that is regarded as indicating the singleness of Mind. “How does that non-simultaneity indicate the singleness of Mind ?” If there were several Minds, it would be possible for several Sense-organs to be in contact with several Minds simultaneously ; whereby there should be several cognitions appearing (through these contacts) at one and the same time ;—but this never happens ;—hence the conclusion is that, inasmuch as cognitions of things appear only one after another—and never simultaneously—there is a single Mind (in one body).

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\* It has been explained in Sū. 1.1-16 that ‘the non-simultaneity of Cognitions is the indicative of Mind ;’ this would not be true, if there were several Minds in a body, or if the Mind were of large dimension. The present enquiry is undertaken for the purpose of finding out some means of concentrating the Mind ; attempts at concentration could be fruitful only if there were only one Mind ; if there were several Minds, there need be no attempt at concentration ; and no abstraction of the Mind or Meditation would be possible.

*Sūtra 57*

[*Objection*]—“What has been asserted is not right; for as a matter of fact, we do perceive several actions (cognitions) actually appearing simultaneously.”

BHĀSYA

“[When the pupil perceives his Teacher going in the forest] he has the following notions,—‘This Teacher reads—walks—holds the water-pot—looks at the path—hears the sounds proceeding from the forest—becomes frightened—keeps on the lookout for signs of serpents or tigers—remembers the place of destination\*’;—he does not notice any order of sequence among these cognitions; so that all these may be regarded as appearing simultaneously;—and hence it follows that there are several Minds.”

*Sūtra 58*

[*Answer*]—The said perception is like the perception of the fire-circle; and is due to the rapidity of motion.

BHĀSYA

In the case of the whirling fire-brand, even though there is sequence [among the several perceptions of the fire, yet it is not perceived, by reason of the extreme rapidity of motion; and the sequence not being perceived, there arises the idea of the continuity (of fire in revolution), which gives rise to the notion that there is a single *circle of fire*;—similarly in the case of cognitions also, Sequence, even though present, fails to be perceived by reason of the rapidity of the cognitions or actions; and the Sequence failing to be perceived, there arises the notion that the actions (or cognitions) appear simultaneously.

“But is the notion of the simultaneity of cognitions due to the non-perception of sequence in them? Or, is the perception of simultaneity due to the actual existence of simultaneity?—You do not show any cause for accepting the one or the other view in preference to the other; [so that the matter must be open to doubt].”

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\* The *Tātparya* adopts the reading स्थायनम् and explains it as स्थापनम्. The right reading appears to be that found in the Puri Ms. B. स्थानीयम्.

We have already explained that cognitions of several things, due to the action of the sense-organs, appear one after the other; and this cannot be denied, being directly perceptible by each man for himself. Further, whenever we think of a number of things seen or heard before, our ideas of them always appear one after the other, and never simultaneously; and from this also we can infer (that the cognitions in the case cited in Sū. 57 are not simultaneous).

In the case of the cognitions of syllables, words and sentences, and those of their meanings, sequence fails to be perceived by reason of rapidity. "How so?" [As a matter of fact the phenomenon involves the following process]—When the several syllables composing a sentence are pronounced, there appears one auditory perception in connection with each one of those syllables,—then the hearer recognises one or several syllables as forming a *word*,—having recognised the word, he ponders over it,—by this pondering he recalls the meaning of that word,—ponders over a number of words as constituting one *sentence*,—having cognised the meanings of the words as syntactically connected, he recognises the meaning of the sentence.—Even though there are so many cognitions involved (in the process of our comprehension of the meaning of a sentence), yet by reason of the rapidity with which they appear, their sequence fails to be perceived. This example explains the ordinary notion of *simultaneity* that people have in regard to Cognitions.

[While the above facts cannot be gainsaid by either party],—in support of the contrary view—that Cognitions do actually appear simultaneously, there is no instance which is free from doubt (and admitted by both parties), on the strength of which it could be inferred that there are several Minds in a body.

### Sūtra 59

**For reasons already mentioned, the Mind must be atomic.**

#### BHĀŚYA

That Mind is *atomic*, and that it is *one*—both these properties of the Mind follow from the *non-simultaneity of Cognitions*. If

the Mind were something *large*, then it would be possible for it to be in contact with several sense-organs at one and the same time ; and this should give rise to several Cognitions *simultaneously*.

### *End of Section 6*

#### SECTION (7)

#### SŪTRAS 60-72

*The Body is formed under the Influence of the Unseen Force (of Destiny).*

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

\*The Mind, along with the Sense-organs, is found to operate only within the Body, never outside the Body ; of the cognising person also, all experiencing of objects, consisting of apprehension etc., is found to occur only in the Body ; so also his acquiring of the desired and abandoning of the undesired thing,—and all other operations carried on by man. With regard to the Body, there is a diversity of opinion, which gives rise to the

\* Since the Mind operates only in the Body, it is only right that the exact nature of the Body should be examined after the character of the Mind has been discussed,—says the *Vārtika*. An examination of the Mind requires an examination of its receptacle, Body, also—the *Tātparya* adds.

The use of the present enquiry consists in the determining of the relation of a particular Soul with a particular Body, and the birth and Final Release of that Soul, as also what is called 'Death'. If we can prove that the connection of the Soul with the Body is due to the past deeds of that Soul, all these phenomena become explained ; thus alone is use found for the laws relating to the duties of the several castes and conditions of man. Thus it is that all that has gone before in the Nyāyasūtra becomes justified—*Pārisuddhi*.

Man's experiences occur in the Body ; the Mind, like all Sense-organs, functions in the Body ; and these facts can be explained only on the basis of Man's body being due to his past deeds. Hence the necessity of the present enquiry. It would seem that the proper occasion for this investigation was the Section that dealt with the Body itself. But it comes in more naturally in connection with the Mind, which is the principal instrument of all man's pleasure, pain etc.....Some people think that the Body of the child is due to the *Karman*, not of the child itself, but of the Father. But this is not right ; because the Body of man must be the product of the acts of that person who regards that Body as himself, and acts for the experiences obtained through and in that Body.—*Vardhamāna*.

following doubt :—Is the formation of the man's Body due to his '*Karman*', or, is it the product of the material substances, independently of any '*Karman*'? We hear several opinions expressed on this point. The truth on this point is as follows :—

*Sūtra 60*

**The formation of the Body is due to the persistence of the effect of previous acts.**

BHĀSYA

The term '*pūrvakṛtam*', 'previous', stands for those deeds, or actions in the shape of the 'Activity of Speech, Thought and Bodily activity', that were done (by the person) in his previous body ;—the 'effect' of the said 'acts' consists of *Merit and Demerit* produced by them ;—the '*anubandha*', 'persistence', of that 'effect', means the continuing of it as subsisting in the Soul ;—and the formation of the Body is out of the material substances *as operated upon by the said 'persistence of Merit and Demerit'*, and not out of the material substances by themselves. That particular Body belongs to a Soul subsisting in which the Soul regards it as 'I', attached to which and desiring experiences in which that Soul obtains the various kinds of objects and acquires (brings about) Merit and Demerit ; and when this Body falls off (on death), another is brought into existence by the force of the 'Faculty' in the shape of the said 'Merit and Demerit' along with (and operating upon) the material substances ; when this second body has come into existence, there go on again actions for the fulfilment of the man's purposes, just as in the previous body ; and the man's activities go on as in the previous body. All this phenomenon is possible only on the basis of the assumption that the production of the Body is out of the material substances *as operated upon by the Soul's acts*. In the case of such objects as the chariot and the like, we find that being intended for the accomplishment of man's purpose, they are brought into existence out of such material substances as are operated upon by man's quality in the shape of *Effort* ; and on the analogy of this we can infer that the Body, being meant to accomplish the man's purposes, comes into existence out of such material substances as are operated upon by some qualities belonging to the man (such for instance as his Merit and Demerit).

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

On this point the Atheist argues as follows :—

*Sūtra 61*

**"The formation of the Body out of material substances is exactly like the production of material bodies out of material substances."**

## BHĀSYA

"From out of material substances themselves—*independently of 'Karman'*—are produced material bodies, in the shape of Sands, Pebbles, Stones, Orpiment and Soot ; and they are taken up (by men) on account of their being capable of accomplishing the purposes of man. In the same manner the Body, being produced, out of material substances independently of man's 'Karman', would be taken up by him, on account of its being conducive to his purposes."

*Sūtra 62*

**This cannot be accepted : because what is urged is still to be proved.**

## BHĀSYA

Just as it is *still to be proved* that 'the formation of the Body is independent of Karman', so is it *still to be proved* that 'the production of Sands, Pebbles, Stones, Orpiment, Soot and such things is independent of Karman'; so that being itself still to be proved, the said premiss cannot serve as a valid reason.

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

What has been urged (in Sū. 61) in regard to the 'production of material bodies out of material substances',—any analogy between this and the case in question—

*Sūtra 63*

**there is none ; because Parents are the cause of formation (of the Body).**

## BHĀSYA

What has been urged by the Atheist bears no analogy to the case in question. "Why ?" Because the 'material bodies' mentioned (Sands etc.) are produced without seeds ; while the Body is always produced from seeds. The term 'parents' stands for *the ovule and semen*, which constitute the 'seeds' (of the Body) ;

and what bring about the birth of the Body out of the material substances in the mother's womb are—(1) that 'Karman' of the personality himself, which is conducive to the experiences to be gone through by him in the mother's womb, and (2) the 'Karman' of the Parents which is conducive to the experiences resulting from the birth of the child. Thus it is established that there is connection with 'seeds' (in the shape of Semen and Ovule).

### Sūtra 64

**And so also is the food.**

#### BHĀSYA

*'The cause of the formation of the Body'*—this has to be added, being the principal clause (of the sentence of which Sūtras 63 and 64 are component parts).

'Food' is what is eaten and drunk ; and the juices, brought about by the digestion of the food, entering into the seed embedded in the mother's womb, undergo development along with that seed ; and in that seed there is as much development as suffices for the accretion of the necessary aggregate;—the accretion thus formed goes on to develop into such aggregates as (1) the cell, (2) the mass, (3) the foetus, (4) the embryo,\* (5) the arteries, (6) and head, and (7) the feet etc.,—and ultimately into what comes to be the substratum of the sense-organs ;—when the foetus has been formed, the juices of the food are absorbed by it through the umbilical cord, and it continues to grow till it becomes fit for being born. No such development is found to occur in the case of food lying in the dish (and not eaten by a person) : From all this it follows that the development of the Body of the child is dependent upon the *karman* (Destiny of the Parents).

### Sūtra 65

**Specially because, even when physical connection is present, there is no certainty (in the appearance of the result).**

#### BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, every connection of the Parents does not bring about conception ; and the only explanation of this is

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\* From (1) to (4) are the names of the several shapes of the developing foetus—says the *Tātparya*.

that there is no conception when the necessary influence of *Karman* (Destiny) is absent ; and when this influence is present conception does take place. This is the only explanation possible of the said uncertainty of conception. If the material substances were independent (of any such influence as Destiny), there should be certainty of conception ; for under that hypothesis, there would be no element wanting in the causes necessary for the formation of the Body.

Further,

*Sūtra 66*

**Just as Karman (Destiny) is the cause of the formation of the Body, so is it also of the connection of the Body (with a particular Soul).\***

BHĀŚYA

It is, as a matter of fact, impossible for the Body to be formed out of the Earth and other material substances, independently of Destiny,—as the Body consists of an aggregation, brought about by means of an arrangement or disposition, most difficult to encompass, of such (heterogeneous) components as—(1) the arteries through which the bodily humours and life-breath flow, (2) the humours of the body culminating in the semen, (3) the Tendon, Skin, Bones, Veins, Muscle, Embryo and Fœtus, (4) head, arms and belly, (5) the thighs, (6) the wind, Bile and Phlegm permeating the Body, and (7) the mouth, throat, chest, stomach, intestines and bowels :—consequently we conclude that its formation is due to Destiny. In the same manner if among the causes (bringing about the body) there is nothing that is related to any particular Soul, the Earth and other material substances that would constitute the body would be

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\* This *Sūtra* anticipates the objection that, when a body is born, it comes into contact with all Souls—since all are equally omnipresent,—so that a body should belong to all Souls equally. The answer is that, though in a general way all Souls are in contact with the Body, yet the special connection of the body with one individual Soul is due to the Destiny of that Soul ; which Destiny determines the exact body fit for the experiences in store for that Soul.

Would it not be simpler to take the *Sūtra* to mean that ‘the connection of Parents also is due to the Destiny of the Soul to be born of these parents’ ? This would be more in keeping with the context.

equally related to all the Souls—among whom there would be nothing to distinguish one from the other,—and there being nothing in the Earth etc., themselves that would connect them with any one Soul, and not with the rest, the Body formed out of these would be the common substratum for the pleasure, pain and cognition of all the Souls ;—as a matter of fact, however, each Body is found to be connected with only one particular Soul ; and the only explanation of this restriction is that *Karman* (Destiny) is a cause that brings about the formation of the Body : so that the Karmic residuum of each Soul being restricted to itself, it produces a Body fit for being the substratum of the experiences of that particular Soul in which the residuum subsists, and connects that body with that Soul. Thus it is found that just as *Destiny is the cause of the formation of the Body, so is it also of the connection of that Body with a particular Soul.* What we mean by ‘connection’ is the relation that each Body bears to an individual Soul.

### Sūtra 67

**By what has been said in the preceding Sūtra the absence of universality has been explained [i.e., shown to be impossible, inexplicable under the Pūrvā-prakṣa].\***

### BHĀŚYA

What is called ‘*aniyama*’, ‘absence of universality’, has been explained—by what has been said in the preceding Sūtra,—‘just as Destiny is the cause of the formation of the Body so is it also of the connection of that Body with a particular Soul’,—as impossible and inexplicable under the theory that the formation of the Body is *not* due to Destiny.†

\* All the commentaries explain this Sūtra as aimed against the following Sāṅkhya-doctrine :—“The formation of the Body is not due to Destiny ; it is due to the functioning of Primordial Matter ; this Primordial Matter, through its own inherent activity, independently of Merit, Demerit etc., evolves the several products.”

The Sūtra has been rendered according to the explanation provided by the Commentators. Would it not be simpler to render it as follows—‘What has been said disposes of the objection that there could be no restriction as to which Soul should have which Body.’

† The *Tatparya* has adopted the reading योऽग्रमकर्मनिमित्तसर्गे मते अनियम.....कर्मेत्यनेन प्रत्युक्तः which has been construed as :—योऽग्रमनियम

Q. "What does *Niyama*, 'Universality', mean here?"

A. What is called 'Universality' here is the idea that *the body of one Soul is the same as that of all Souls*; so that what is meant by '*aniyama*', 'absence of Universality', is *diversity, distinction, peculiarity*,—*i.e.*, the idea that *the body of one Soul is different from that of another*.\*

As a matter of fact, we actually find such diversity or distinction in the birth of bodies as (*a*) one is born in a high family, another in a low family, (*b*) one is praiseworthy and another blameworthy, (*c*) one is full of diseases while another is free from diseases, (*d*) one is full-bodied while another is maimed, (*e*) one is full of suffering while another is full of happiness, (*f*) one is endowed with excellent characteristics of man while another is quite the contrary, (*g*) one is endowed with good properties while another possesses bad properties, (*h*) one has efficient and another weak sense-organs. [These are the cruder differences ordinarily perceptible.] There are several subtler differences, which are innumerable. All this diversity in the birth of Bodies can be due only to the Destiny attaching to each individual Soul (which determines the character of the Body into which that Soul is going to be born). On the other hand, if there were no such diverse Destinies attaching to individual Souls, (as influencing the birth of the Body), then—there being no difference among the Souls themselves, and the Earth and other material substances (as constituting Primordial Matter) being the same in all cases, and there being nothing in these substances to lead to any restriction,—it would come to this that all bodies belong to all Souls. As a matter of fact, however, the life of Souls is not found to be so (that is, such as all bodies belong to all Souls).

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हत्युच्यते अयं अकर्मनिमित्तसर्वे मते.....प्रत्युक्तः: The *Tātparya* explains the purport as follows—'the absence of Universality—*i.e.*, the fact that no single Body can be common to all Souls—that has been described in the preceding Sūtra—*has been explained*—*i.e.*, shown to be impossible under the theory that the formation of the Body is brought about by material substances independently of any such influence as that of Destiny.'

\* '*Niyama*' stands for *Universality*, the idea of all Souls having a common body; '*Aniyama*' means *non-universality*, the idea that one Soul has one body and another a totally different one—*Tātparya*.

Hence the conclusion is that the formation of the Body cannot but be due to the influence of Destiny.

Further, the separation (freedom) of the Soul from the Body is also rendered possible by the possibility of the exhaustion of *Karman* (Destiny).\* That is to say, when the formation of the Body is due to Destiny, it becomes possible for the Soul to become separated (freed) from that body.—“How?”—*Through the possibility of the exhaustion of Destiny*. It is possible for Destiny to be exhausted in the following manner :—Right Knowledge having destroyed Illusion, the person becomes free from all attachment,—he commits no further deeds, by body, speech, or mind, which could lead to his re-birth ; so that there is no further accumulation of Destiny ; and all past accumulation becomes exhausted by his passing through the experiences resulting therefrom ; thus (in the absence of Destiny) there being nothing to bring about a further Body, when the present Body falls off, no further Body is formed, and hence there is no further bondage (for that Soul). If the formation of the Body were *not* due to Destiny,—as of the material substance (Primordial Matter) itself there can be no destruction,—there would be no possibility of the Soul ever becoming freed from the Body.

### Sūtra 68

† If it be asserted that—“the formation of the Body is due to ‘adṛṣṭā’ [(a) ‘non-perception’, or (b) unseen quality]”

\* This appears as *Sūtra* in the *Viz.* text. But no such *Sūtra* is found in the *Nyāyasūci-nibandha*, nor in *Sūtra* MSS. C and D, nor in Viśvanātha’s *Vṛtti*.

† The *Viz.* text, as also the *Nyāyasūcinibandha*, includes this clause also under the *Sūtra*. But neither Viśvanātha nor any *Sūtra* Ms. reads the *Sūtra* so ; according to these the form of the *Sūtra* is simply ‘*punastatprasaṅgo’ pavarge*’. But from the *Bhāṣya* below it is clear that the text of the *Sūtra* is as translated.

The *Vārtika* and the *Tātparya* explain this objection as proceeding from the *Sāṅkhya* (A). The *Bhāṣya* latter on, P. 191, L. 10, offers another explanation, whereby the objection is represented as coming from the Jaina (B).

The *Tātparya* has explained the term ‘Adṛṣṭā’ of the *Sūtra*,—which the *Bhāṣya* says, is synonymous here with ‘*adarśana*’, non-perception,—to mean the non-perception of such objects of enjoyment as Sound and the like, as also the non-perception of the distinction between Soul and Matter.

—then [our answer is that] in that case, even after final release there would be likelihood of a Body being produced.

## BHĀSYA

[A] "It is *adars'ana*, 'non-perception', that is spoken of as *adr̥ṣṭa*, (in the *Sūtra*). As a matter of fact, the formation of the Body is brought about by 'non-perception'. That is, as long as the Body has not been formed, the perceiver, being without a receivable (abode), *cannot perceive* things ; the things to be *perceived* by him being of two kinds—(a) the *object* (Sound, Taste, Odour etc.) and the *diversity* or *difference* between the *Unmanifested* (Primordial Matter) and the *Soul* ;—and it is (in view of this 'non-perception', and) for this purpose (of accomplishing the *perception* of these two kinds of things) that the Body is brought into existence. Hence when the said *perception* (of both kinds of things) has been accomplished, the material substances have done all they had to do (in connection with that perceiving Soul) and consequently do not produce any other Body for him ; and in this manner the 'separation from Body' becomes possible."

If you hold the above view, then our answer is that—*in that case, even after Final Release, there would be likelihood of a further Body being born*. That is, there would be likelihood of another Body being produced for that Soul. According to you, there is one 'non-perception'—i.e., impossibility of perception—while the Body has not been formed ; and there is 'impossibility of perception' after the Body has ceased to exist,—which also is another 'non-perception' ;—and between these two 'non-perceptions' there is no difference ; so that, even after Final Release, inasmuch as 'non-perception' [which, according to you, is the sole cause of the production of the Body] would be there, there would be every likelihood of another Body being produced.

"But the fact of the *purpose of the Body-production having been accomplished* forms the point of difference (between the two 'non-perceptions')."<sup>\*</sup>

This cannot be right ; because, as a matter of fact, we find production or accomplishment as well as non-accomplishment.

\* This is sometimes printed as *Sūtra*. But no such *Sūtra* is found anywhere.

That is, if what you mean to urge is that—"When perception (of ordinary things, and of the difference between Soul and Matter) has been accomplished, the material substances have their purpose fulfilled, and as such, do not go to form another Body ; and this forms the point of difference [wherein one kind of 'non-perception', that due to the cessation of the Body upon Final Release, differs from the other kind of 'non-perception', that due to the non-existence of the Body, before it has been produced],'—then, our answer is that this cannot be right ; because we find production on accomplishment as well as on non-accomplishment; that is, as a matter of fact, we find that Bodies are produced again and again (for the non-released Soul), even though the material substances have their purpose fulfilled by the Soul's *perception* of the things of the world ; and inasmuch as the Bodies produced again and again do not (always) bring about the *perception* of difference between Soul and Matter (which is the only purpose left to be accomplished for the Soul by these subsequent bodies), the production of all these bodies must be regarded as purposeless.

From all this it is clear that, under the theory that the creation of things is not due to Destiny, the formation of the Body *cannot* be regarded as being for the purposes of 'Perception'; while under the theory that the said creation is due to Destiny, the formation of the Body can be rightly regarded as being for the purposes of 'Perception' ; as (under this latter theory) 'Perception' consists in *experience*, which is the result of deeds done (i.e. Destiny).

[B] The clause '*tadadr̥ṣṭakāritam*' may be taken as representing the theory of other philosophers :—" *Adr̥ṣṭa* is the name of a particular quality of Atoms, which brings about action or movement (vibration) ; it is when urged by this quality that the Atoms combine and bring about the Body ; whereupon this Body is entered by the Mind, which also is urged to it by its own quality of '*Adr̥ṣṭa*' ; and when the Body has become entered by the Mind then the Perceiver begins to have his perceptions."

The answer to this theory also is that—'*there is likelihood of another Body being produced*'—since the Mind is not destroyed ; that is, even after Final Release, there would be likelihood of a further Body being produced, as '*Adr̥ṣṭa*', the quality of Atoms, is indestructible (and hence persists even after Release).

*Sūtra 69*

**There should be no severance of connection,—this being due to the action of Mind.\***

**BHĀSYA**

[Another objection against the Jaina view, referred to in the latter part of the *Bhāṣya* on Sū. 68]

If the Mind enters (into the Body) by virtue of ‘*adr̥ṣṭa*’, the Unseen Quality of the Mind, there should be no severance of connection (between the Mind and the Body). For under this view,† to what could the moving out of the Mind from the Body be due? Under our theory the said moving out (of the Mind from the Body, at death) is due to the fact that one set of Karmic Residuum (to which the dead Body owed its existence) having been exhausted, another set of Karmic residuum (to which the next Body would be due) sets up its fruition.‡ “The moving out of the Mind would be due to the unseen quality (*Adr̥ṣṭa*) ; that same unseen quality which has been the cause of *entrance* (of the Mind into the Body) will also be the cause of its *exit*.” This cannot be right ; for one and the same thing cannot be the cause of both *life* (which is what the *entrance* of Mind means) and *death* (which is what is meant by the Mind’s *exit*) ; according to your view the same Unseen Quality would be the cause of both life and death ; and this is absurd.

*Sūtra 70*

**Inasmuch as Death would not be possible, the Body should have to be regarded as ever-lasting.**

**BHĀSYA**

When, on the experiencing of the fruits (of all deeds) there is exhaustion of Karmic residuum and the Body falls off, it is called ‘death’ ; and under the influence of another Karmic residuum there is ‘rebirth’. Now, if the formation of the Body

\* This Sūtra is not found in the Puri Sūtra Ms., it is found everywhere else.

† तत्र is better than तत्त्व.

‡ तदिहं दृष्टान्तस्.....दृष्टान्ते—These words, found in some editions, have no connection with the present context. They are not found in the Puri MSS., nor in any other manuscript save one.

were due to the material substances themselves, independently of Destiny, what would that be the exhaustion whereof could lead to the fall of the Body, which is called 'death'? And there being no death, we understand that *the Body should have to be regarded as ever-lasting*. For if Death were due to mere chance, (and not to a specific cause relating specifically to the individual), then there could be no difference in the manner of death (in several persons).\*

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The Opponent,—with a view to criticise what has been urged against him, to the effect that 'there would be likelihood of another Body being produced' (Sū. 68),—argues as follows :—

#### Sūtra 71

"It would be like the eternity of the dark colour of the Atom."†

#### BHĀSYA

"Just as the dark colour of the Atom (of Clay) is eternal, and yet when it is obstructed (set aside) by fire-contact (in baking), it does not appear again,—in the same manner the Body, though formed by the Unseen Quality (of the Atoms), would not appear again, after Final Release."

#### Sūtra 72

**That cannot be ; as this would involve (A) the admission of what is not supported (by reasoning or fact)§ [ (B) or, the accruing of what is not earned. ]**

#### BHĀSYA

(A) The instance cited (in Sū. 71) cannot be right ;— "Why?"—*Because this would involve the admission of what is not supported.* The term 'supported' stands for *not compatible with*

\* Some persons die in the womb, some as soon as they are born, and so forth. If death were not the effect of a specific cause, it should be either *eternal*, like *Ākāśa*, or an absolute *non-entity*, like the sky-lotus.—*Tātparya*.

† This Sūtra, though not found in Sūtra M.s. C., is found everywhere else.

§ The *Tātparya* construes the Sūtra thus :—*Pramāṇena aviṣayikytam akṛtam*—*pratyuta pratyakṣāgamaviruddham*—*tasya 'abhyāgamah' abhyupagamah tatprasaṅgat*. This is the interpretation that has been adopted in the translation ; as also a second interpretation (B), put forward in the *Bhāṣya*.

*any right Cognition* ; the ‘*abhyāgama*’ of that means its acceptance, avowal ; the meaning thus is that he who believes what has been said (in Sū. 71) would be avowing what is incompatible with all right notion. Hence the instance cited cannot be right ; since what is asserted is neither perceptible, nor cognisable by inference. Thus what the *Sūtra* (72) urges is the fact that what has been cited by the Opponent is something *still to be proved*.

(B) Or, the *Sūtra* may be explained to mean that—*That cannot be, as this would involve the accruing of what is not earned*. A person who, on the basis of the example of the Dark Colour of the Atom, seeks to support the view that the formation of the Body is not due to Destiny, draws upon himself the incongruity of *the accruing of the unearned*. That is, the theory would involve the contingency that pleasure and pain accrues to the man without his having done the acts leading up to that pleasure and pain. If, in answer to this, you say “yes, be it so” ;—then our answer is that this would be contrary (a) to Perception, (b) to Inference and (c) to Scripture.

(a) To perception it would be contrary in the following manner :—That the Pleasure and Pain experienced by each individual Soul is distinct is a fact perceptible to all persons. “What is the distinction ? ” The distinctions are such as *strong and weak, belated and quick, diverse and uniform*, and so forth. (Under the Opponent’s theory) there can be no speciality in the causes bringing pleasure and pain to each individual Soul separately ; and unless there is some speciality in the cause there can be none in the effect. If, on the other hand, the advent of pleasure and pain is due to Destiny,—inasmuch as it is possible (a) for the acts of diverse personalities to be strong or weak etc., (b) for their Karmic residuum to be correspondingly more or less potent, and (c) for their acts to be of diverse or uniform character,—it is only right that there should be a corresponding distinction in the Pleasure and Pain resulting from those acts. And since no such distinction *in the cause* would be possible on the theory of the Opponent, there should be no distinction in the resultant Pleasure and Pain :—and this would be incompatible with (contrary to) a fact known by Perception.

(b) The Opponent's theory would be contrary to Inference in the following manner :—The distribution of Pleasure and Pain among persons is found to follow from the distribution of their qualities ; e.g. when an intelligent person, having recognised a certain pleasure as brought about by a certain means, *desires* that pleasure, he makes an *effort* to obtain that means, and thereby obtains that pleasure ; and he does not obtain it otherwise [ i.e. if he does not put forth the said effort ] ;—similarly, when a person, having recognised a certain pain as brought about by a certain means, *desires* to avoid that Pain, he makes an *effort* to avoid that means, and thereby avoids that pain ; and not otherwise. Now in the case in question, we find that there are certain pleasures and pains that accrue to a person without any effort on his part [ such for instance as the sufferings due to a mis-shaped body ] ; and on the strength of the well-known facts just mentioned, we *infer* that the distribution of these pleasures and pains also must be due to some other quality of the intelligent being (if not his direct *effort*) [ and this other quality is **Merit-Demerit** constituting the person's Destiny ]. This inference would be contradicted if the accruing of pleasure and pain were held to be not due to Destiny. The said 'other quality' (Merit-Demerit), being imperceptible, is called '*adrṣṭa*' (Unseen Force, Destiny), and since the time of its fruition is not definitely fixed, it is regarded as *indefinite* ;\* while Apprehension and the other qualities of the Soul are perceptible and evanescent.

(c) The Opponent's theory would be contrary to Scripture in the following manner :—There are several Scriptures written by sages, containing the instructions imparted by those sages, in regard to the performance and avoidance of actions ; and the effect of such instruction we find in the shape of activities of men consisting of performance in due accordance with their respective castes and conditions of life, as also in the shape of cessation from activity, consisting of avoidance of action. Both

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\* We have translated the reading *avyavasthitam* ; though to keep up the contrast with the 'evanescence' of Buddhi, spoken of in the next sentence, '*vyavasthitam*', 'permanent', 'lasting', would appear to be the better reading.

these kinds of action, good and evil, would be impossible, under the philosophy of the *Pūrvapakṣin*; so that this philosophy is contrary to the view (in consonance with Scriptures) that the accruing of pleasure and pain to persons is due to Destiny.

Thus the conclusion is that the doctrine—that “the formation of the Body is not due to Destiny, and the accruing of Pleasure and Pain is not due to Destiny”—is clearly wrong and is maintained only by the worst sinners.

Thus ends the *Bhāṣya* on *Adhyāya III.*



DISCOURSE IV  
DAILY LESSON I

SECTION (1)

*Sūtras 1—2*

*General Examination of Activity and Defect.*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀṢYA

After *Mind* it is the turn of *Activity* to be examined.\* All that has been said in course of the Examination of the *Body* as the receptacle of Merit and Demerit may be regarded as constituting the Examination of *Activity* ;—this is what is asserted in the following *Sūtra*.

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\* The Third Discourse has dealt with the first six of the twelve 'objects of cognition' mentioned in Sū. 1-1-9; these six—Soul, Body, Sense-organs, Things perceived, Apprehension and Mind—being the *causes* of the remaining six—Activity, Defect, Re-birth, Fruition, Pain and Release; these are the *effects* of the former six. [This is what constitutes the connection between Discourses III and IV.] In the First Daily Lesson we have the examination of the six 'objects'; and in the Second we have the Examination of the Highest Cognition, the Right Knowledge, (that leads directly to Release).—*Parīṣuddhi*.

*Vardhamāna* adds—Another connection between the end of *Adhyāya* III and the beginning of *Adhyāya* IV, consists in the fact that among the Objects mentioned in Sū. 1-1-9, it is 'Activity' whose *mention* follows that of 'Mind'; hence it is only natural that the 'examination' also of *Activity* should follow that of *Mind*.

*Vardhamāna* raises a further question—According to the rule laid down by the *Bhāṣya*, the 'examination' of a subject must be preceded by its 'mention' and 'definition'; and as 'Right Knowledge' has nowhere been *mentioned*, there can be no justification for its *examination* in the second Daily Lesson of *Adh. IV*. The answer is that 'Right-Cognition' has been actually mentioned in Sū. 1.1-1, where it is *mentioned* as leading to the Highest Good of Man; and further, to justify an 'examination', it is not necessary to directly *mention* a subject; for we find the *Sūtras* examining several subjects that are connected only remotely with the subjects *mentioned*. Another question that arises is—since Right Knowledge is the precursor of Release, it should have been dealt with beforehand. The answer to this is that a full account of Right Knowledge demands a previous account of the *objects* of that knowledge; it is for this reason that Right Knowledge has been dealt with *after* all other subjects have been dealt with.

**Sūtra 1**

**As Activity has been defined—so has it been examined.\***

**INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA**

It might be urged that after 'Activity', there should follow the Examination of 'Defects'; hence the Sūtra adds—

**Sūtra 2**

**So also have the Defects—**

**BHĀSYA**

*been examined.* (A) Inasmuch as they subsist in the same substratum as *Apprehension*, Defects are regarded as the qualities of the Soul;—(B) inasmuch as they are the source of Activity and as they have the power of bringing about re-birth, they are regarded as the cause of 'Samsāra', 'Birth-Rebirths';—and since this (series of births and re-births) is beginningless, Defects are regarded as operating† in a continuous series.‡ *Wrong Knowledge* ceases when Right Knowledge is attained; and on the cessation of *Wrong Knowledge*, the whole series of *Affections and Aversions* drop off; whereupon follows *Final Release*;—and from this it is clear that Defects (i.e., Wrong Knowledge, Affec-

\* Activity has been defined under Sū. 1-1-17 as the 'Operation of Speech, of Mind and of Body'; and this may be regarded as its 'examination' also.

These words—'so has it been examined'—are, according to the *Bhāsyā*, to be supplied to complete the Sūtra. Viśvanātha has taken exception to this:—"It is not right to supply these words to the Sūtra; for if this is done then the word 'tathā', 'so', required as the necessary correlation to 'yathā', 'as', of the Sūtra (1), having already been thus supplied, there would be no syntactical connection between Sūtras (1) and (2). Hence the right way to construe is to take both Sūtras together, the meaning being—'just as Activity is as has been defined, so is Defect also as it has been defined'".

This construction is perhaps better; but there is no point in the criticism of the *Bhāsyā*-interpretation; for there is nothing wrong in construing the single 'yathā' of Sū. (1) with two 'tathās'—one supplied by the *Bhāsyā* and the other occurring in Sū. (2).

† The right reading '*pravartante*' is supplied by Puri Ms. B.

‡ Defects are due to the contemplation of desirable and undesirable things; hence like Apprehension they must be qualities of the Soul; being qualities of the Soul they must proceed on lines similar to Activity, which is the product of the Soul's quality, Effort. Hence the examination of 'Defects' becomes included in that of 'Activity'.—*Tatparya*.

tion etc.) are liable to Appearance and Disappearance ;—all this in connection with Defects has already been explained (under *Sūtras* 1-1-2 and 3-1-25).

*End of Section (1)*

SECTION (2)\*

*Sūtras* 3-9

*Defects divided into three Groups.*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

*Question* :—It has been said in Sū. 1-1-18 that ‘Defects have inciting (causing activity) as their distinguishing feature’; now the feelings of Pride, Jealousy, Envy, Suspicion, Selfishness and the like are all characterised by the said distinguishing feature ; under the circumstances, why are not these enumerated by name ?

The answer to this is supplied by the following *Sūtra*:

*Sūtra* 3

**There are three Groups of Defects ;—[all being included under] Desire, Hatred and Illusion, which are distinct from one another.**

BHĀSYA

Of Defects there are three groups, three types ; (I) The *Desire-type*—under which are included Love (for the other sex), Selfishness, Longing for acquiring, in a lawful manner, what belongs to another, Hankering (for Rebirth) and Greed (desire for obtaining, in an unlawful manner, what belongs to another);—(II) The *Hatred-type*—under which are included Anger, Jealousy, Envy, Malice, and Resentment ;—(III) The *Illusion-type*—under which are included Error, Suspicion, Pride, and Negligence. Thus,

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\* Vardhamāna remarks—*Sūtra* 2 having dealt with Defects, it would appear reasonable to regard *Sūtra* 3 *et seq* as continuing the same section. So that the proper arrangement would be to put Sū. (1) alone under Section I, dealing with ‘Activity’, and *Sūtras* 2 to 9 under Section II dealing with Defects. But to this arrangement there would be the objection that only one *Sūtra*, the first, would form a ‘Section’ which is not right ; as a ‘Section’ must consist of several *Sūtras*. Hence the best explanation is that under Section I we have the treatment of ‘Defects’ only in a general way, and that too, as a side-issue, as something connected with Activity ; while under Section II we have the detailed treatment of ‘Defects’.

since all defects are included under one or the other of these three groups, they are not described individually.

*Objection*—“ Since all have the same distinguishing feature (of *causing activity*), it is not right to divide them under three groups.”

*Answer* :—The division into three groups is certainly right, since ‘ Desire ’, ‘ Hatred ’ and ‘ Illusion ’ are distinct from one another [though all are *causes of activity*, yet each has a distinctive character of its own] ; e.g., ‘ Desire ’ is characterised by *attachment*, ‘ Hatred ’ is characterised by *aversion* (intolerance), and ‘ Illusion ’ is characterised by *wrong notion* ; this fact is realised by every man in his own experience : every conscious person knows when Love appears, when he has the feeling that ‘ the quality of Love has appeared in my Soul ’; he also recognises the absence of Love, when he has the feeling ‘ the quality of Love is not present in my Soul ’: and similarly with the other two. As for the feelings of Pride and the rest, these are all found to be included under one or other of these three groups : and hence they have not been mentioned separately.

#### Sūtra 4

[*Objection*]—“ **What is asserted is not right ; because all three have one and the same thing for their antithesis.**”

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

“Desire and the rest cannot be regarded as distinct from one another ;—Why ?—Because they have one and the same thing for their antithesis ; all three have one and the same thing for their antithesis—viz.: that which is known under the names ‘*tattvajñānam*’, ‘knowledge of truth’, ‘*samyañmatih*’, ‘right knowledge’, ‘*āryaprajñā*’, ‘truthful cognition’, ‘*sambodhah*’, ‘right apprehension.’”

#### Sūtra 5

[*Answer*]—The reason put forward is not valid, as there is no invariable concomitance.

#### BHĀSYA

The Dark Colour and several such properties of Clay have the same antithesis in the form of ‘fire-contact’, and there are other qualities of it, which, being brought about by baking, have one and the same source ;—

## Sūtra 6

of these, Illusion is the worser evil ; each of these three being distinct ;—as for one who is not under Illusion the others do not appear.

## BHĀŚYA

Illusion is an evil ; it is spoken of as the ‘worser evil’, by taking the three two at a time.\* “Why is Illusion the ‘worser evil’?” *Because for one who is not under illusion the others do not appear*,—i.e. unless one is affected by Illusion, Desire and Hatred do not appear ; and when a man has become influenced by Illusion, one or the other (of the other two) appear in accordance with the man’s notions ;† when the man’s impressions in regard to a thing are attractive (such as create attachment), they produce in him *Desire* (for that thing) ; while when his notions are repulsive (such as create aversion), they produce *Hatred*. Both these notions are nothing other than ‘Illusion’, which consists of *wrong notion*. Thus it is that Desire and Hatred have their source in Illusion. When Illusion is destroyed by Right Knowledge, both Desire and Hatred cease to appear ; this is what accounts for their having one and the same thing for their antithesis. It is with a view to these facts that it has been explained under Sū. 1. 1. 2. that, *after True Knowledge ‘there is a cessation of each member of the following series—Pain, Birth, Activity, Defect, and Wrong Notion,—the cessation of that which follows bringing the annihilation of that which precedes it, and this ultimately leads to the Highest Good’*.

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀŚYA

*Objection* :—“ If what is said in Sū. 6 is true, then there arises the following difficulty :—

\* Because the term ‘*pāpiyān*’ is in the comparative degree, it follows that what is meant is that, as between Illusion and Desire, and Illusion and Hatred, Illusion is the ‘worser evil’.

† What is spoken of ‘*Sankalpa*’, ‘Notions’ is the remembrance, under Illusion, of a certain thing as bringing pleasure, and that of another thing, as bringing pain—*Tātparya*.

*Sūtra 7*

"Inasmuch as (between Illusion and the other two) there is the relation of cause and effect, it follows that 'Illusion' is something different from the 'Defects'".

BHĀSYA

"The effect is always different from the cause: hence if Illusion is the cause of the Defects (Desire and Hatred), it cannot itself be a 'Defect'."

*Sūtra 8*

[Answer]—That is not so; as Illusion is included under the definition of 'Defects'.

BHĀSYA

Defects having been defined as *those that have 'causing activity' for their distinguishing feature*—Illusion becomes included, by this definition, under 'Defect'.

*Sūtra 9*

Further, since it is quite possible for things belonging to the same class to bear among themselves the relation of cause and effect, the objection (in Sū. 7) has no force.

BHĀSYA

Among substances, as well as qualities, belonging to the same class, it is found that they bear to one another various kinds of causal relation.

*End of Section (2)**SECTION (3)**Sūtra 10-31**Examination of 'Rebirth'*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

After 'Defects' comes 'Rebirth'.\* In regard to this the following objection is raised:—"There can be no such thing as

\* The doubt in regard to 'Rebirth' is as to its belonging to the Soul, or to Apprehension, or to the Body—says the *Tātparya*. To this form of Doubt, the objection is raised in Vardhamāna's '*Prakāśa*' that, it having been already determined under Sū. 1-1-19 that Rebirth is of the Soul, there can be no room for such a doubt. The answer given is that from the definition provided under Sū. 1-1-19, 'Rebirth' appears to consist in death and birth; hence the further question naturally arises—'How can death and birth

*Rebirth*, as the Soul is eternal : and no eternal thing is ever found to be born or to die : so that the Soul being eternal, there is no possibility of *Birth and Death* : and yet it is only these two that constitute 'Rebirth' ? ''\*

On this point we have the following statement of the established conclusion :—

### Sūtra 10

**Rebirth is possible only because the Soul is eternal.**

BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, it is the *eternal* Soul that 'departs' (*praiṭi*),—i.e. abandons the former body, dies,—and having 'departed' (*pretya*), i.e., having abandoned the former body, 'comes' (*bhavati*)—i.e. is born, takes up another body ; and it is these two (*departing—coming*) that have been spoken of as 'Rebirth', '*Pretya-bhāva*', under the Sūtra—'Rebirth consists in being born again' (Sū. 1-1-19) ; so that what is meant (by Rebirth 'belonging to the Soul') is that *it abandons the previous body and takes up another* ; and this is possible only when the Soul is eternal. On the other hand, he, for whom 'Rebirth' consists of the 'birth of one entity and destruction of another entity', would be faced with the absurdity that one entity would be deprived of the fruits of his deeds, while another would be saddled with the fruits of acts not done by him.† And further, under

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belong to the *Soul*, which, being eternal, cannot die or be born ?' And the most fitting occasion for dealing with this question is that when the 'examination' of 'Rebirth' is taken up. Vardhamāna also suggests another answer as offered by 'others' :—The *Pūrvapakṣin* imposes upon the *Naiyāyika* the view that 'Rebirth' consists of 'destruction and production', and then raises the doubt and the objection against the view that 'Rebirth' belongs to the Soul ; and instead of urging the objection in this form, the *Pūrvapakṣin* (in the *Bhāṣya*) starts off with the *Naiyāyika* view that Rebirth is something belonging to the Soul, and then goes on to say that such Rebirth is not possible ; as it is not possible for any such thing to belong to the Soul.

\* Thus 'Rebirth,' is impossible under the theory of the *Naiyāyika* ; though it is quite compatible with the theory of the *Baudhā*, according to whom all these are evanescent, undergoing destruction every moment.

† The entity that does the act is destroyed immediately afterwards ; the entity that is subsequently born, at the time when the fruit of the said act appears, is a totally different being ; so that while the latter is saddled

the theory that there are causes bringing about destruction (of the Being in the body), the teachings of the sages would be entirely useless [as the Being to whom the teachings are imparted cannot live long enough to profit by them].\*

### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

*Question*—“In what manner does the *production* of things come about?”†

#### Sūtra 11

[*Answer*]—The (*production*) of perceptible‡ things is from perceptible§ things; as is clearly proved by Perception.

The question being—“in what manner, and from what sort of material cause is the perceptible thing, such as the Body, produced?”—the answer is that, ‘from perceptible things’, known as ‘material substances’—i.e. from Earth and the other material substances, in their extremely subtle eternal forms—is produced the ‘perceptible thing’, i.e., the ordinarily known Substances (Earth etc. in their gross form), which appear in the form of the Body, the Sense-organs, the Objects and their appurtenances.

with the fruit of the acts not done by him, the former becomes deprived of the fruit of those acts done by himself. Under the view that the eternal Soul is re-born, it is the same Soul that does the act and experiences its effects.

\* According to the Naiyāyika, on the other hand, the real Being, Soul, being everlasting, persists from life to life; and its birth and death consist respectively, in its becoming connected, and disconnected, with a Body, a set of Sense-organs, Intellect and Sensation.

† It is not easy to perceive the connection of this question with ‘Rebirth’, the subject-matter of the Section. The ‘production’ questioned about now, is the coming into existence of material objects; and the only connection possible would be that, the *Bhāṣya* having declared that ‘Rebirth’ does not consist of ‘destruction and production’, it becomes necessary to determine the exact nature of ‘production’, and then to show that it is not possible for the non-material substance Soul; and hence in the term ‘*pretyabhāva*’, ‘Rebirth’, ‘*bhāva*’, ‘birth’ cannot mean ‘production’.

Viśvanātha takes it as introduced for the purpose of bringing forward the various theories in regard to the ‘production’ of the Body.

§ The term ‘*vyakta*’ stands, according to the *Vārtika*, for that which is endowed with the conditions of perceptibility, i.e. anything endowed with such perceptible qualities as Colour and the rest. Hence the word ‘*vyaktā!*’ takes in the Atoms also, which are endowed with the qualities of Colour etc.

The term 'vyakta', 'perceptible', stands for what is cognisable by means of the Sense-organs ; and by reason of similarity to this 'perceptible' thing, its cause also is called 'vyakta', 'perceptible'.

"What is the similarity ? "

The similarity (between the perceptible thing and its cause) consists in the presence of Colour and other qualities. Hence the meaning of the Sūtra is that—'out of the eternal substances, Earth etc., which are endowed with the qualities of Colour etc., are produced the Body and such other things, which are endowed with the qualities of Colour etc.'

[That this is so] is clearly proved by Perception. We actually see that out of such substances as Clay and the like which are endowed with the qualities of Colour and the rest, are produced objects of the same kind (i.e., possessed of the qualities of Colour etc.) ;—and from this fact (perceived in connection with visible Objects) we infer the same in connection with invisible things also ; that is, in the case of the Clay etc., we find that the presence of Colour and other qualities is common to the material cause as well as its product ; and from this we deduce the same in regard to the causal nature of the eternal super-sensuous things (Atoms) also.

### Sūtra 12

[Objection]—"What is asserted is not true ; as the Jar is not produced out of the Jar."

#### BHĀŚYA

"This also is a perceptible fact that the 'perceptible' Jar is never found to be produced out of the 'perceptible' Jar ; hence, as we do not see the 'perceptible' thing being produced out of the 'perceptible' thing, it follows that the cause (of the production) of the 'perceptible' (Body etc.) is not a 'perceptible' thing."

### Sūtra 13

[Answer]—Inasmuch as the Jar is actually produced out of a 'perceptible' substance, the objection has no force.

#### BHĀŚYA

We do not say that everything is the cause of everything ; what we do say is that whatever 'perceptible' thing is produced, it is produced out of a similar (i.e., *perceptible*) thing ; and the

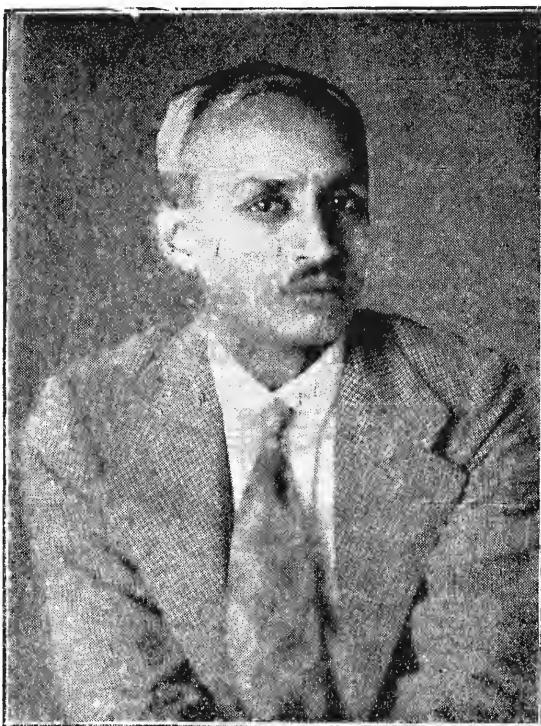
DEDICATED  
TO THE REVERED MEMORY  
OF

**Prof. Dr. Har Dutt Sharma,**

M. A., Ph. D.



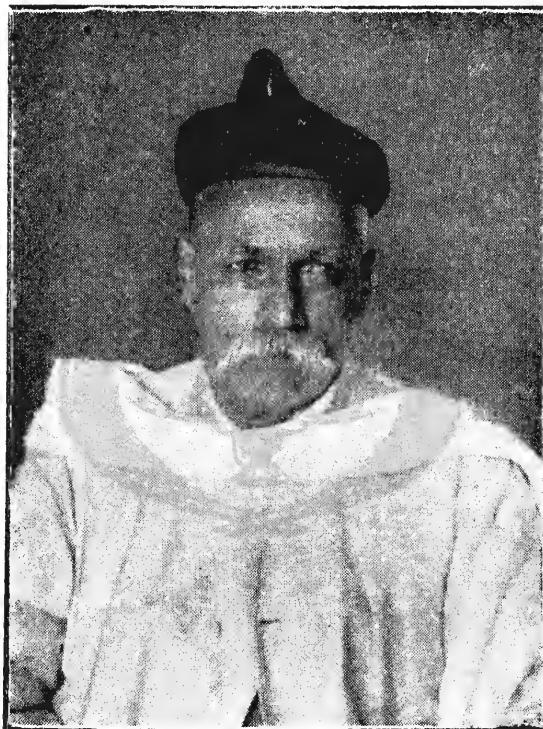
**DR. H. D. SHARMA**



**Born 23-3-1899**

**Died 11-9-1942**

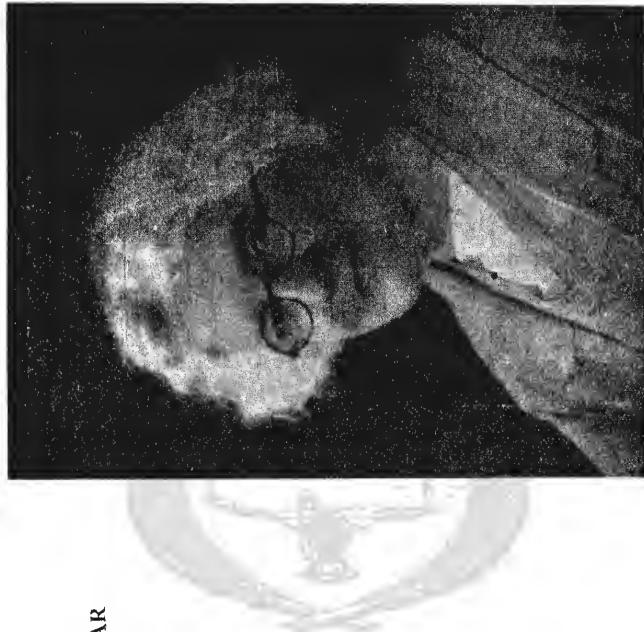
**DR. N. G. SARDESAI**



**Born 17-8-1873**

**Died 22-1-1943**

DR. MRS. C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS



MM. VASUDEVA SHASTRI ABHYANKAR



Died 14-10-1942

Died 26-6-1942

# THE POONA ORIENTALIST

A quarterly Journal devoted to Oriental Studies

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## EDITORIAL.

It is now seven years that the *Poona Orientalist* was founded by the late Dr. Narahar Gopal Sardesai and the late Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, the Publisher and the Editor respectively of this Journal. The services rendered by the *Poona Orientalist* to the cause of Indology are now too well known to need mention. It is really very tragic that both the founders of this Journal should pass away within a period of six months, Dr. Sharma passing away on the 11th September 1942 and Dr. Sardesai on the 22nd January 1943 !

It was in June 1942 that Dr. N. G. Sardesai invited the present editor to be the joint-editor of the *Poona Orientalist* with Dr. Sharma, with a view to facilitate the editorial work of the Journal. But unfortunately the present editor has not had the good fortune of working in collaboration with these founders of the Journal for any appreciable length of time. He has had, however, their generous blessings for the future conduct of the work. These blessings, coupled with the whole-hearted assurance and the firm resolve for the continuation of the Journal on the part of Dr. R. N. Sardesai, the present proprietor of the Oriental Book Agency, have emboldened the present editor not only to carry on the good work of his predecessor but also to try his best to make any suitable improvements in it commensurate with the needs of scholars and the resources of the publisher. It is hoped that the numerous contributors and patrons of the *Poona Orientalist* will continue their unstinted patronage to this Journal as hitherto to enable the present editor to realise his editorial hopes and ambitions in the near future.

This joint number of the *Poona Orientalist* is dedicated to the hallowed memory of Dr. H. D. Sharma. The present editor would have liked to bring it out as soon as possible after the death of Dr. Sharma but he regrets that circumstances beyond his control have caused such a delay in its publication. The next number will be called the "Dr. N. G. Sardesai Memorial Number" and arrangements are being made to publish it before October 1943.

In the following pages, interesting details about the life and brilliant literary career of Dr. Sharma will be found in the informed article of Mr. M. M. Patkar and the personal reminiscences contributed by Dr. Katre, Dr. Raghavan and Prof. Suryanarayan Sastri. But before introducing the readers to the same the present editor would like to take this opportunity of paying his tribute of deep respect to the revered memory of Professor Dr. Sharma and to that of Dr. N. G. alias Annasaheb Sardesai.

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It is a matter of deep regret to note that during the period of the last ten months, the Oriental Scholarship has sustained a very heavy loss by the demises of several Sanskrit scholars of eminence and repute.

Dr. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, President of the Pali Text Society and a famous interpreter of Budhism passed away in England on the 26th of June 1942 at the ripe old age of 84. She closely collaborated with her husband, Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the celebrated founder of the Pali Text Society, in Carrying on Pali and Budhistic research and in the publication of the translations of Pali Texts. After his death, she carried on the work of her husband, with unabated zeal and industry and brought it within the range of completion. In 'India and the Pali Text Society', a paper contributed to the Silver Jubilee Volume of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, she makes a fervent appeal for help in completing the six remaining volumes to be published by the Society.

Another veteran Sanskrit Pandit, the Mahāmahopādhyāya Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar passed away in Poona on the

14th of October 1942, at the grand old age of 79. He possessed unrivalled proficiency not only in Vyākaraṇa, which was his *forte* but almost in all the branches of Sanskrit learning. He has written original Sanskrit commentaries on many works on Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta, Yoga and Mīmāṃsā. But the crowning achievement of his life was the Marathi translation with explanatory notes, of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali which is being published by the D. E. Society, Poona. For further information readers are referred to Prof. C. R. Deodhar's note on his life and works, appearing on pp. 232-235.

Students of Indian Philosophy will deeply mourn the sad and premature death of Prof. S. Suryanarayan Sastri, the Head of the Department of Indian Philosophy in the Madras University on the 9th of December 1942, when he was only forty-nine years old ! He has prepared scholarly editions of about nine well-known works on Indian Philosophy and contributed numerous learned papers on philosophical topics to several Indological Journals. Dr. Raghavan's brief note on Prof. Sastri's life may be found on p. 236.

But the heaviest loss that Indology has suffered in recent times is by the sudden and premature death on the 21st of January 1943 of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the world-famous editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, which is being published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. He gave to this monumental work seventeen years of his life with undivided attention. The principles of Textual reconstruction which he evolved with great critical scholarship and the profound study of the entire manuscript tradition of the great Epic of India, have won universal recognition, truly entitling him to be called the Father of Indian Textual Criticism. The announcement of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee to publish in two volumes all his research papers is greatly to be welcomed for it will bring within an easy reach of all scholars his highly important articles on Bhāṣa and Epic Studies.

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The patrons of the Oriental Book Agency will be glad to learn that Dr. R. N. Sardesai has assumed charge of the Agency after the death of his father the late Dr. Annasaheb Sardesai. He has regularly contributed a classified and Descriptive Bibliography of recent oriental publications, which has been much appreciated by the readers of the *Poona Orientalist*. With the special ability and experience for the conduct of a publishing house inherited from his worthy father, Dr. R. N. Sardesai will before long make the Oriental Book Agency a model institution, catering to the various needs of Oriental Scholars in this country and outside. He has already acquired, by his stay in Europe a thorough knowledge of business methods pertaining to the book trade, which cannot but have a salutary effect on the future efficient working of the Oriental Book Agency.



## THE LATE DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA

Readers of the *Poona Orientalist* will be painfully grieved to learn about the sad and premature death of Dr. Har Dutt Sharma at Delhi on the 11th September 1942. Since the very inception of this Journal Dr. Sharma was its editor and served it till the last moment of his life. His last article on the "*Paraśurāmapratāpa*," proofs of which were seen by him, appeared in the issue of this very journal which was published shortly after his death.

Born in 1899 (March 23) Dr. Sharma completed his college education in 1920, when he passed the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University. He passed this examination in second class, having stood first in Sanskrit and was awarded a Gold Medal and a scholarship for prosecuting his post-graduate studies. In 1922 he passed the M. A. Examination of the Benares Hindu University with credit securing first class in both the examinations for that degree. In 1930 he obtained the Doctor's degree of the Prague University for his thesis "*Contribution to the History of Brahmanical Asceticism (Saṃnyāsa)*," for which he worked under the able guidance of Dr. Winternitz.

With such a brilliant career Dr. Sharma started in life as a Professor and immediately after passing his M. A. Examination joined the Ramjas Inter College of Delhi as a senior Professor of Sanskrit. Having served in this college for about five years Dr. Sharma went to Cawnpore and worked there in the Sanatan Dharma College as a Senior Professor of Sanskrit from 1926 to 1934. It was during this period that he went to Germany and obtained the Ph. D. degree of the Prague University as stated above. From 1934 to 1936 he was a tutor in Sanskrit in the private school established by Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai at Ahamadabad. In 1936 he came to Poona and was entrusted with the work of preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of Vaidyaka, Tantra and Dharmasāstra manuscripts in the Govt. MSS. Library deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. While engaged on this work he also worked at the Sir Parashurambhau College in Poona as Hon. Professor of Sanskrit and Pāli. Finally he went to Delhi in 1937 and was appointed Senior Professor of Sanskrit in the Hindu College, where he served till the end of his life.

Dr. Sharma was a profound scholar. Being brought up in the old Shastric tradition of learning he had acquired great command over Sanskrit language. Having come in contact with eminent Orientalists like Dr. Winternitz and others he had also mastered the Western methods of critical research. This critical acumen combined with the old Shastric training enabled him to edit several works which have received the appreciation of eminent scholars. Apart from preparing the editions of various Sanskrit texts Dr. Sharma wrote several papers on different branches of Sanskrit learning. A glance at the list of the papers contributed by him to several journals shows the variety of topics handled by him. He wrote more than twenty papers on subjects pertaining to *Alarikāra*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Kāvya*, *Itihāsa*, *Vedānta*, *Vaidyaka*, *Samgīta* and so on. This list of articles, though small, is sufficient to indicate Dr. Sharma's versatility and scholarship. Dr. Sharma was not a man of robust constitution but he had great tenacity of purpose which could make him work for hours together without rest. When he was engaged on the preparation of the Descriptive Catalogue of *Dharmaśāstra* Manuscripts in 1937, I have seen him working at the Bhandarkar Institute continuously from nine o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening and even after such a hard work he was ready to go through the proofs of *Kāvyaprakāśa* and other works which he was then editing.

Dr. Sharma was a man of genial temperament. He took keen interest in different activities, the editing of the *Poona Orientalist* being one of them. He was a lover of fine arts, and music had a special attraction for him. By his amiable nature he made numerous acquaintances and formed his own circle of friends wherever he went. Those who have come in contact with him know how cheerful and lively he was. Only a year before his death he had delivered a lecture on "*Hāsyā-rasa*" at the Bhandarkar Institute. Little did we know at that time that the *Hāsyā-rasa* was to be followed by *Soka-rasa* only within the course of a year. It is really unfortunate that such an energetic personality should be snatched away from us by the cruel hand of Death at the early age of forty-three !

M. M. PATKAR.

The following is a list of the published writings of the late Dr. Har Dutt Sharma :—

A—BOOKS ( including the works edited )

*Kāvya*—  
 1 Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa.  
 2 Kavīndracandrodaya.  
 3 Bhāminīvilāsa.  
 4 Saduktikarṇāmṛta.

*Vedānta and Sāṃkhya*—  
 1 Sāṃkhyakārikā with Gauḍapādabhāṣya.  
 2 do do Tattvakaumudi.  
 3 Brahmasūtra (the first four aphorisms of Brahmasūtra) along with Śāṅkara's commentary with English translation etc.  
 4 Jayamaṅgalā or the Sāṃkhyasaptatiḥikā.

*Dharmaśāstra*—  
 1 Contribution to the History of Brahmanical Asceticism ( Saṃnyāsa ).  
 2 Descriptive Catalogue of Dharmaśāstra Manuscripts in the Govt. MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. ( to be published ).

*Alamkāra*—  
 2 Kāvyaprakāśa Ullāsas I, II, III & X.

*Vaidyaka*—  
 1 Descriptive Catalogue of Vaidyaka MSS. (B. O. R. Institute ).

*Tantra*—  
 1 Descriptive Catalogue of Tantra MSS. (B. O. R. Institute ).

B—ARTICLES

*Alamkāra*—  
 1 Kuntala's conception of Guṇas  
 2 Hāsyā as a rasa in Sanskrit Rhetoric and Literature.

*Dharmaśāstra*—  
 1 Some problems connected with Brahmanical Asceticism.  
 2 Nirṇayakaustubha.  
 3 Paraśurāmapratāpa.  
 4 The Meaning of उपचार.

*Kāvya*--1 The Subhāśitahārāvali.

- 2 The Sūktisundara of Sundaradeva.
- 3 A forgotten event of Shah Jehan's reign.
- 4 The poet Bhānukara.
- 5 An analysis of the authorities quoted in Śārṅgadharapaddhati.
- 6 Some unknown Sanskrit poets of Mithilā.

*Vedānta* etc.--1 Jayamāngalā and other commentaries on the Sāṃkhya Saptati.

- 2 The Sāṃkhya Teachers.
- 3 Vaīṣṇava philosopher Priyādāsa, and his work.

*Saṅgīta*--1 Indian Music.

*Vaidyaka*--1 Laksmaṇotsava.

- 2 Nidānacintāmaṇi.

Miscellaneous--1 Some Baghela Rulers.

- 2 An unpublished Inscription of Pacamāras.

—M. M. PATKAR.

### VIDYĀSUDHĀKARA Dr. HAR DUTT SHARMA

It was in December 1935, during the Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, as we were walking up the Chamundi Hills in excursion, that the shuffle of company on the narrow pathway brought me abreast of a tall thin north Indian figure with a silk turban, who, shortly after an introductory smile, began speaking of his interest in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati; his interest in me grew as I began speaking of the recensions of that anthology and the existence in the Tanjore Library of a much inflated manuscript of it. Subsequently myself and Dr. Har Dutt Sharma became friends and corresponded on many matters of Research. He published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute an index of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, and as has happened in his case also, an unfortunately chequered career had prevented him from continued or exhaustive work on this as well as other subjects, including his

Doctorate dissertation on Brahmanical Asceticism. After his becoming the Professor of Sanskrit in the Hindu College, Delhi, he had hoped to do sustained work, but unkind Providence cut short his life, while yet he was young. It now appears to a friend of his like myself as a great satisfaction that just before his death, he had the honour of presiding over the Classical Section of the last Oriental Conference in December 1941 at Hyderabad, to which place he was about to come as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Osmania University.

The Oriental Book Agency, Poona, and its Proprietor Dr. Sardesai, had secured his services for the publication of a number of useful books like the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and the *Brama-Sūtra-Śāṅkara-Bhaṣya-Catussūṭri* and editions of works like the *Amara-koṣa* with Kṣirasvāmin's commentary. Besides, with him as Editor, the same Agency started the now well-going journal, the *Poona Orientalist*, which has encouraged a number of young scholars and has brought out serially reprints of some of the works of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha.

As a member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, he had undertaken the edition of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Vaidyaka manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, of which again he could help to publish only one volume ; he had also recently delivered an extension lecture in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the Hāsyā Rasa.

In the field of later Sanskrit Literature, Dr. Sharma interested himself in bringing to light a number of writers and their works, and anthologies and authors cited therein. Mention may be made of his work on Hari Kavi, Bhānudatta and the Kavindracandrodaya, of which last, along with Mr. Patkar of the Manuscripts Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute he gave us an edition in the Poona Oriental Series.

Among scholars engaged in Research, I have found the late Dr. Sharma as modest and free from some of those flaws which prevent friendship and exhibit an anxiety to value name-making more than Ātma-guṇa.

—V. RAGHAVAN.

## PROF. DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA

My acquaintance with Dr. Har Dutt Sharma was first established through his edition of the *Jayamāngalā* commentary on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, which I came to know during my study of the Sāṅkhya system some fifteen years ago. Personal contact came only some years later, at the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna (1931), where he was introduced to me as the learned editor of the *Jayamāngalā*. We met a number of times thereafter, at Mysore, Delhi and so on ; we used to exchange publications, and we were as unstinting in mutual praise as unreserved in mutual criticism. When he became editor of the *Poona Orientalist* he generously included me in the complimentary list. In his literary work as in his personal relations, he was remarkable for his steadiness, dependability and unobtrusiveness ; conscious of his own abilities, he never paraded them ; he was willing and eager to find good in the work of others and seek to conserve it by improvement rather than attempt to scrape it ; he was generous of praise and frank in criticism ; and his devotion to older teachers like the late Sir Ganganath Jha was well known. We had hoped to bring out jointly an English translation of the *Advaitasiddhi*. Indeed he had with him for a time a considerable portion translated by me. But pre-occupation with the Nyāya work on hand, not to mention other teaching and literary activities, made him postpone the attempt and return my Ms. to me. I was, however,<sup>2</sup> expecting him to write and tell me any day that he had become free to go on with our project. That was not to be ! The sudden and premature demise of such a talented person, willing to learn and anxious to serve, cannot but be a very serious loss to the world of Sanskrit scholars. The most suitable way to commemorate him would be by seeing to the growth of the *Poona Orientalist* from strength to strength. That indeed will be the most fitting offering for the peace of the soul of the late lamented scholar.

—S. S. SURYANARAYAN SASTRI.

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### PROF. DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA

It was in the month of July 1934 that I had the good fortune of coming into personal contact with the late Dr. Har Datt Sharma, when he joined duty as a Tutor in Sanskrit in the Retreat School of Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai in Ahmedabad. About a month previous to my meeting him I had myself joined this school as Education Secretary to Mrs. Sarabhai, and during the two years that we stayed in Ahmedabad we were not only colleagues working in the same Institute, but were, in addition, very close neighbours, occupying two floors of the same building.

My first impression of Dr. Sharma was that of an ascetic face ; it was only afterwards that I learned from him that he had taken up the study of asceticism from the historical standpoint in the Indic field under the guidance of Prof. Winternitz in Prague for his doctoral dissertation. From the very first a strong bond of friendship grew between us, and many were the days when he would come down to me or I would go up to him and speak of things which interested us both. In fact many of the achievements which both of us have to our credit were based upon those intimate conversations.

And while speaking of conversations I am still reminded about his brilliant wit and love of Sanskrit literature which marked his speeches. There was never a dull moment in his company ; he was full of anecdotes and apt quotations and his passion for research drove him into many inaccessible places. He made friends wherever he went, and today, I feel sure, a large number of them will miss his genial personality.

Dr. Sharma was excessively fond of books, and his personal library, though by no means very extensive, still possessed a good number of rare and beautiful books. He combined within himself to a rare degree the western method of scientific approach with the eastern synthesis, and in addition to his being a very good research scholar, he had the extraordinary capacity of bringing home to the man in the street the beauties of Sanskrit literature or the results of advanced research. Whether as a scholar, as a commentator or as an Editor, Dr. Sharma brought to bear upon his studies a very vivid imagination combined with thorough execution. I have had the good fortune of

witnessing his reaction both to favourable and unfavourable events, and finding in him a stoical disregard of the values of both. But he was deep in his sympathies as in his scholarship.

It was through Dr. Sharma that I cultivated the friendship of Dr. N. G. Saradesai of The Oriental Book Agency, Poona. I can still remember the joy with which Dr. Sharma announced to me, after his return from the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference in 1935, the founding of the new quarterly *Poona Orientalist*, a pleasure in which I could sincerely join him. The subsequent events were painful to both of us, full of trials and tests which the Divine sometimes visits on human beings, and I found in him the same disregard for the pain and misery as the avid interest in good things. During 1936-37, we were once again together in Poona, working on descriptive catalogues of Manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. In spite of temporary unemployment, Dr. Sharma kept his head cool and devoted himself with unparalleled zeal to the study of his pet subject which was connected with researches in Anthological Literature in Sanskrit. Had he lived he would no doubt have completed this *magnus opus*; I saw him working day and night with the manuscript *pratīka* index of Sanskrit verses prepared by Aufrecht, just as I later saw him wrestling with the voluminous manuscript of *Paraśurāmapratīpa* on perhaps his last research visit to Poona.

The last time I saw him was when he came here this summer for treatment of that fell disease to which he succumbed later. Even when he was suffering excruciating physical pain I could still find traces of that rare sense of humour which had characterised all his previous life known to me. I had seen the shadow of death clearly marked on his forehead on that day, two days previous to his departure for Delhi, and had even mentioned this fact to my colleague Mr. Gode on my return from there. Though expected, his death has naturally caused the deepest sorrow to all his personal friends, and interrupted the great work that he had inaugurated in the cause of Indic studies. His death is a distinct loss to the world of scholarship, for in the very height of his power he was snatched away. It will be extremely difficult to fill his place for some time to come.

Both the *Poona Orientalist* and the Poona Oriental Series benefited considerably by his association with Dr. Sardesai, and this association between a pure scholar and a scholarly publisher reminds us of the many famous Leipzig Publishing Firms which were initiated by scholars and managed later by scholarly publishers. We can only hope that this association may lead our country to emulate the traditions which other countries have built up in this line. If Dr. Sharma had his paternal home in Meerut, his spiritual home was always in Poona, and particularly enshrined in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

—S. M. KATRE.



## SAṄKARA AND THE SCHOOLS OF ADVAITA

The Late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri

It is well-known that several doctrinal differences developed among the followers of Śaṅkara, in regard to issues of some import, major as well as minor, though they have been generally treated as negligible in view of the agreement as to non-dualism being the ultimate truth. The advocates of the rival views claimed not merely greater intelligibility, but also the support of the Master himself in some cases. Thus, in the discussion as to whether there is an injunction of the study of the Vedānta (*Vedāntaśravaṇa*), rival schools claim the Ācārya to have espoused the views of apūrvavidhi and of niyama-vidhi; for, in one place he says that an injunction should certainly be admitted because of the novelty (of the result), and this seems to favour the contention of those who maintain an apūrvavidhi; but in the same context, in interpreting the word "pakṣeṇa" of the relevant *Vedantasūtra*, he has to understand it as referring to the possibility of obtaining the result by alternative means; hence, what injunction there is has the purport of restricting the pursuit to one alternative alone, viz., *Vedāntaśravaṇa*, study as instructed by a guru, in contrast to the reading up of written texts, etc. consequently, the vidhi is a niyama-vidhi. In such a case, both schools can claim loyalty to the Ācārya, since his own words do not preclude either interpretation and seem in some measure to favour either; even where he seems to favour an apūrvavidhi, his words relate to the apūrvatva of the result, not of the injunction; and the former may be a niyamapūrvā, the adṛṣṭa connected with a restriction.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in the discussion as to the distinctive cause of the intuition of Brahman, though Śaṅkara's words in the *Gitābhāṣya*<sup>2</sup> confer that status on the internal organ (the manas), the rival school which holds the Vedānta texts themselves to be the karana, has no scruples about disposing of the Ācārya's words as a restatement of a view not his own (and presumably that of the

1. See *SLS*, I, 1, 121- 1, 135.

2. II, 21.

unknown Vṛttikāra, who, for instance, is refuted in the ānanda-maya section of the *Vedāntasūtras*) ; for, distinctive causality for anything except Śruti texts is negated by Śruti itself ; as for some passages which appear to countenance manas, e. g., " it is to be seen by the manas ",<sup>1</sup> they are to be explained away on the analogy of worldly statements like " I see or hear with the mind " where the worlds only mean the presence of a concentrated mind as a cause, while the karaṇatva belongs undoubtedly to the visual or auditory sense.<sup>2</sup>

In the controversy as to a plurality of Jīvas and the locus of nescience, the Master would appear again to have expressed himself in an inconclusive manner, as evidenced by the laboured efforts of the author of the *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* and the elaborate arguments of Appayya Dikṣita ; the former seeks to establish that the Ācārya's statements about the Jīva's ignorance are not inconsistent with his recognition of Brahman itself as the locus of nescience ;<sup>3</sup> the latter would have it that in Śankara's view, the manifold Jīvas are the loci of nesciences, and that on the destruction of each nescience, and pending the release of all, there is, for each released Jīva, the attainment of Iśvaratva alone, not of Brahmatva.<sup>4</sup>

In all such cases, Śankara does not appear, except to the devoted adherents of the rival schools, to give unequivocal support to one school or another. Where such expressions come in, they deserve therefore some scrutiny.

A point of dispute between the *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivarāṇa* schools relates to the import of words. Do they signify their own senses in isolation, the sentence-sense being a product of the word-senses ? Or does each word signify its own sense as in some relation, however indefinite, the said relation becoming progressively more definite with the utterance and functioning of other competent words ? The former is the view of Bhāṭṭa and is espoused by Vācaspati ; the latter is the view of Prakāśātman, being taken over from Prabhākara, but with an important modification ; for while Prabhākara would have it that words

3. *Brh.* IV, iv, 19. 4. *SLS.* III, 4. 3.

5. See *SS'*, II, v, 172-221.

6. See *SLS*, 4. 22-44 ; also *S'N*, 3, 2351-3, 2355.

signify only such sense as in relation to kārya (the unseen result to be accomplished), the school of Prakāśātman holds that such senses are in relation to other competent word-senses, not necessarily to kārya ; the senses are yogyetarānvita, not kāryānvita. It is difficult to imagine a controversy on this point between schools both owning allegiance to Śaṅkara, unless it be that Śaṅkara himself said nothing conclusive. Yet in the *Viṣṇusahasranāma-bhāṣya* attributed to him, he appears to make a definitive statement. In the course of the commentary on the verse “pavitrānām pavitram yah”, etc., he says :<sup>1</sup> “The significant capacity of words is in respect of their own sense as in relation to (that of) other (words), not in respect of their own sense as in relation to Kārya, as, in that case, there is the contingency of non-relation in the case of arthyādā passages, the cognition of relation (there) being an eulogy (not relation to a kārya)”. In the face of such a declaration, it is difficult to see any justification for the *Bhāmatī* school espousing a different view without even an attempt to explain or explain away the conflicting statement. It may be that Vācaspati who came so soon after Śaṅkara was unaware of the work or did not consider it of much importance ; but then his successors in upholding the doctrine could and should have noticed such a significant statement. Nor is the passage likely to be a later intercalation ; for it occurs naturally enough in its context, while discussing the authority of the Vedas even in respect of the existent, in contrast with what is to be done or accomplished. It is not without significance that in upholding its own position the *Vivarāṇa* school does not appeal to the express authority of Śaṅkara, as it may well be expected to do, on a controversial point. It seems reasonable to hold, therefore, that the work itself is a composition by another hand and that it was not known or at least that it did not pass as Śaṅkara's, at the time the rival views took shape and began to take root.<sup>2</sup>

7. Memorial Edn. Vol. XIII, p. 26.

8. There are not wanting other indications too which may support the conjecture that the ascription of the work to Śaṅkara is dubious, if not spurious; thus, while in the *apaśūdrādhikarāya* (*Ved. Sū.*, I, iii, 38), what is denied the sūdra is only the acquisition of such knowledge as requires study of the Veda, in the present work (p. 163) he is denied even the right

Such conclusion need not distress us, especially in the case of a work of minor philosophical importance, like the one in question. But similar difficulties present themselves even in respect of the commentaries on the major *Upaniṣads*. In the course of the bhāṣya on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣada* (Chapter II) there occurs, for instance, what appears a definitive statement on a point at issue between the *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivarāṇa* schools. The former accepts sense-contact as definitive of perceptuality ; there is no difficulty about the perception of pleasure, pain, etc., since the manas which apprehends them is a sense-organ ; for the same reason, there is no difficulty about the immediate realisation of Scripture-revealed truth, inasmuch as it is the man as which by profound contemplation converts to immediacy what as revealed is mediate ; there is no teaching of a vṛtti or psychosis or transformation of the internal organ going out through senses like that of sight, reaching to the object and taking on the form of the object. This last is the special doctrine of the *Vivarāṇa* school which holds that revealed truth is immediate and that the manas is not a sense-organ, perceptuality being defined as the manifestation of non-difference as between consciousness defined by an object and consciousness defined by the outgoing mode of the internal organ; the non-difference is revealed because of the vṛtti taking on the form of the object and occupying the same locality as the object. The relevant sentence in the *Taittirīyaka-Bhāṣya*, which appears clearly to favour the *Vivarāṇa* view runs thus : "Knowledge which is of the nature of the Self is not different therefrom ; hence it is certainly eternal. Yet, those presentations in the form of sound, etc., which belong to what is the nature of an upādhi (adjunct), viz., the *Buddhi* (the internal organ), that through the channels of the sense of sight, etc., has been transmuted into the forms of the (respective) contents, they being contents of the Knowledge that is the Self are certainly originated and are originated as pervaded by the

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to perform japa of the thousand names, his sole right being to 'hear' them; this smacks of the intolerance of a later day. Again, in at least one edition of this work, there is offered a citation in praise of Manu, before quoting the authority of Manu; this too suggests that authority had come to be questioned and apparently stood in need of defence.

Knowledge that is the Self.”<sup>1</sup> The words in Italics are clear enough in their import. What the discussion in the context requires is only a distinction between *svarūpa-jñāna* and *vṛtti-jñāna*, the latter being generated, while the former is eternal; we are, however, treated to some extra information as to the nature of the *vṛtti*, its going out through the senses and assuming the shape of the object. In the face of such a clear statement, why did not Vācaspati too accept this view? Was he ignorant even of some of the *Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas*?

Nor are cases wanting of conflict between the *Sūtra-bhāṣya* and the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas*. The author of the *Śakti-bhāṣya*<sup>2</sup> on the *Vedānta Sūtras* has noted some of these; and they merit some consideration. In commenting on *Ved. Sū.*, I, i. 14, the *bhāṣyakāra* says that ‘divo jyotis’ in the text refers to Brahman, because of mention of feet (quarters); elsewhere in the same *Śruti*<sup>3</sup> it has been said that Brahman has four quarters, and that the entire world of perishable creatures constitutes one quarter, while the remaining three which are immortal, are in heaven (related to *dyu*): consequently here too the light mentioned as related to *dyu* (in ‘divo’) should be understood as that immortal Brahman. In the *Chāndogya-bhāṣya*, however, ‘divi’ is explained as “in the resplendent, i. e., one’s own self,” while ‘divo jyotis’ is explained in its context as the light that shines beyond the heavens (*dyuloka*); if, thus, the relation to *dyu* is differently interpreted in the two passages, it being taken in one case to mean the resplendent self (*dyotanavati svātmani*) and in the other the heavenly region (*dyuloka*), what becomes of the principle (invoked in the *Sūtra-bhāṣya*) of a common reference to *dyu* in both passages, on the basis of which, a common interpretation is sought, for the word ‘jyotis’? Nor will it suffice that the word ‘*dyu*,’ irrespective of the sense, is common to both; for a difference of sense would be a great asset to the *pūrvapakṣin*, who, however, makes no such appeal, but contents himself with pointing to the difference in case-

1. *Mem. Edition*, Vol. VI, p. 65.

2. Author: Sri Pancānana Tarkaratna Bhattacharya; Publisher: Sri Sri Jiva Nyayatirtha Bhattacharya, M.A., 47, Haldarpara Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.

3. *Chānd.*, III, xii, 6.

endings ('divo' and 'divi', ablative and locative) and the consequential difference of import. Was not the bhāsyakāra then aware of the difference even in the stem-sense of the word in the two contexts? Or, being aware, was he purposefully silent, in view of his opponent's ignorance? Neither solution can be satisfactory.

Again, in commenting on sūtra 26 of the same section, the bhāsyakāra says : "For the following reason too, it is to be understood that Brahman is the subject-matter in the earlier statement of śruti about jyotiś, viz., that it mentions creatures (bhūtas) as quarters (thereof). For, mentioning creatures, the earth, body and the heart, it says 'This is the four-footed six-fold gāyatrī'. Verily, not without a reference to Brahman are the creatures, etc. intelligible as quarters (feet) of the (gāyatrī) metre alone". The quoted śruti is *Chāndogya* III, xii, 5. But Śāṅkara's commentary on that *Upaniṣad* makes out that the creatures etc., afore-mentioned, together with speech and the vital air, are to be reckoned as constituting the six kinds (vidha) of gāyatrī, not its four quarters—the latter being made up of the twenty-four letters, at the rate of six letters for each pāda. This, again, is a note-worthy difference, though hardly vital.

In the third chapter of the *Vedānta Sūtras* we have another instance of variance, in the interpretation of the word 'bālyā'. The *Sūtrabhāṣya* takes it to mean a state or activities, like to those of childhood, innocence and unconcern being principally intended. The commentary on the *Upaniṣad* text,<sup>1</sup> however, makes it out to be the strength of knowledge (jñāna-bala); while the unenlightened seek external sources of strength in the shape of means and ends, the enlightened will rely on the strength of self-knowledge alone, which is neither means nor end. Neither interpretation is inconsistent with Advaita, but the two are hardly mutually consistent.

Are we to conclude, then, that even the *Upaniṣadbhāṣyas* should be ascribed to one or more authors different from the author of the *Sūtrabhāṣya*? Or shall we hold that the great master wrote or dictated whatever came uppermost in his mind at the moment caring little for consistency with what he said

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1. *Bṛh.* III, v, 1.

at other times, so long as consistency was maintained with the final position (*paramasiddhānta*)? In view of Śaṅkara's extremely short span of life and the prodigious amount of work attributed to him even on a conservative estimate, the above suggestion seems quite plausible. Or, should we, with the author of the *Śaktibhāṣya*,<sup>1</sup> treat the differences as meant by the author to suit different grades of adhikārins? Such a view, though useful to that author, can hardly explain the variations between the *Sūtrabhaṣya*, and the *Upaniṣadbhāṣya*, which he himself has noted and we have mentioned above. If we have to admit different authors, a good deal of tradition will go over-board, together with the respect accorded to several works ascribed to Sureśvara, as an immediate disciple of Śaṅkara. The sacrifice may not be more difficult than in the case of equations like that between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara; or between Deveśvara and Sureśvara but an extensive jettison can be justified only by the magnitude of the peril. Is there a real difficulty or is it only a storm in a tea-pot? Such questions are worth facing and solving if a solution is possible at all. And the object of this paper will have been achieved if sufficient attention is drawn to them. This much, however, seems certain, that it is extremely risky to base any conclusions on doctrinal difference, real or alleged.

*Abbreviations :* *Brh.*, Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad  
*Chānd.*, Chāndogya Upaniṣad  
*Sls.*, Siddhāntaleśasasaṅgraha  
*Śn.*, Śivādvaitanirṇaya  
*Ved.* *Sū.*, Vedānta Sūtras.

1. This exceedingly interesting modern product of Sanskrit scholarship deserves to be better known. The present writer hopes to contribute a paper on it at an early date.

## THE SANSKRIT PRAHASANA

S. K. De

Like the *Bhāṇa*, the one-act one-character monologue-play,<sup>1</sup> to which it is closely allied, the one-act Prahasana or farcical play possessed much scope for comedy and satire, but by its exaggeration, hopeless vulgarity (allowed by theory), and lack of invention shown in the selection of a few conventional types of characters and incidents, it became more a caricature, with plenty of horse-play, than a picture of real life, with true comedy. As a class of composition, the Prahasana is hardly entertaining, and has little literary attraction. There is the same erotic tendency as in the *Bhāṇa*, but it is confined chiefly to the set stanzas and descriptions and entirely submerged in a series of grotesque and often coarse antics. The theme is invented, and consists generally of the tricks and quarrels of low characters of all kinds, which often include a courtesan. The action is slight, and the distinction made by theory between the mixed (*Saṁkirṇa*) and unmixed (*Śuddha*) types<sup>2</sup> is more or less formal and is of no practical significance. The earlier Prahasanas have only one act, like the *Bhāṇa*, but the later specimens extend to two acts, or divide the one act into two *Saṁdhis*.

The dramaturgic treatises mention several Prahasanas which have not come down to us. Thus, the *Bhāva-Prakāśa* of Śāradātanaya mentions *Sairamdhrikā*, *Sāgara-kaumudi* and *Kalikeli*, while the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Singa-bhūpāla cites *Ananda-kośa*, *Brhatsabhadraka* and *Bhagavadajjuka*, of which the last named work alone has been recovered. Of the three Prahasanas cited by the *Sāhityadarpana*, the *Laṭaka-melaka* alone has survived, but the *Dhūrta-carita* and *Kandarpa-keli* are lost. Of the existing Prahasanas, the earliest appears to be the *Matta-vilāsa* of Mahendravikrama, which must have been composed in the second quarter of the 7th century A. D. The

1. See S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 63-90.

2. D. R. Mankad, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*, Karachi 1926, pp. 62-63.

prologue<sup>1</sup> of the play, fortunately, gives the name of the author and describes him as a king of the Pallava dynasty and son of Simhavarman; and the scene is laid in Kāñchi, the modern Conjevaram and the ancient capital of the Pallava kingdom. All this enables us to identify the author with the king of that name, known to us from inscriptions, which mention the *Matta-vilāsa* as a work of his, and also give him the titles of Guṇabhara, Avanibhājana, Mattavilāsa and Satrumalla, all found in the play itself. The king ruled in Kāñchi about 620 A. D., and was thus a contemporary of Harṣavardhana and Bāna.

The play is a slight farcical sketch in one act. It depicts with some liveliness the drunken revelry of a Śaiva medicant, bearing a human skull in lieu of alms-bowl and accordingly calling himself a Kapālin, his wandering with his wench through the purlieus of Kāñci on his way to a tavern, his scuffle with a hypocritical Buddhist monk<sup>2</sup> whom he accuses of the theft of his precious bowl which he has lost, his appeal to a degenerate Pāśupata to settle the dispute, and the final recovery of the bowl from a madman who had retrieved it from a stray dog. The incident is amusing but trivial, and the satire caustic but broad. It evinces no distinctive literary characteristics of a high order, but within its limits it shows some power of vivid portraiture in a simple and elegant style, and certainly deserves an indulgent verdict as the earliest known specimen of the Prahasana or farce, which in later times becomes marked by greater grossness and less literary skill.

1. Ed. T. Ganapati Shastri, 'Trivandrum Sk. Ser.', 1917. On this drama see L. D. Barnett in *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 233-34, *BSOS*, 1920, i, pt. 3, pp. 36-38. Except that the author is named in the prologue, the play shows the same technique of stage-craft and other peculiarities as the plays attributed to Bhāsa. Barnett makes this fact the basis of the suggestion that the Bhāsa dramas are the products of an anonymous playwright of a Southern dramatic school, who composed them at about the same period as that of Mahendravikrama. But since the features are shown also by several other plays of other dramatists of known or unknown dates, the conclusion, we have seen, cannot be justified in the form in which it is stated.

2. It is significant that the monk, a frail son of the church, bears the name of Nāgasena, the famous Buddhist divine and protagonist of the Milindapañha; and his mumbling of the Śikṣapada and his inward fretting about restrictions regarding wine and women are interesting touches.

After the *Matta-vilsāsa*, comes the *Bhagvad-ajjukiyā*,<sup>1</sup> which is an undoubtedly old Prahasana, but the date of which is unknown and authorship uncertain. Like most plays preserved in Kerala, the Prologue omits the name of the author, but a late commentary, which finds throughout a philosophical meaning in the farce, names (in agreement with two manuscripts of the play) Bodhāyana Kavi as the author, who is otherwise unknown but whom the commentator might be confusing with the Vṛttikāra Bodhāyana quoted by Rāmānuja. The argument that the farce was composed at a time when Buddhism was still a living faith is clearly indefinite and inconclusive, but compared with later specimens of the Prahasana, it reveals features of style and treatment which render a date earlier than the 12th century very probable. One important feature of this well written farce, which distinguishes it from all other farces in Sanskrit, is that the comic element is found not in the oddities of the characters but in the ludicrousness of the plot. In this farce of the Saint and the Courtesan, as it is curiously named, the saint is a true ascetic and learned teacher, well versed in Yoga, while his pupil Śāṇdilya is the typical Vidūṣaka of the serious drama ; their conversation, with which the play begins, has comic features, but it is never grotesque and coarse, and the characters are not of that low and hypocritical type ordinarily ridiculed in the farce. The courtesan, who enters the neighbouring garden and awaits her lover, does not show the vulgar traits of the common harlot, which we find in the normal Prahasanas to be presently mentioned. The funny situation arises when the girl falls dead bitten by a serpent, and the Saint finds an opportunity of impressing his scoffing pupil by a display of Yogic powers and enters the dead body of courtesan. The messenger of Yama, coming to fetch the dead soul and finding a mistake has been committed, allows the soul of the courtesan to enter the lifeless body of the saint. The curious exchange of soul makes the saint speak and act like the courtesan while the courtesan adopts the language and conduct of the saint

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1. Ed. A. Banerji Sastri in *JBORS*, 1924, from very imperfect materials, but ed. more critically by P. Anujan Acharyan, and published from the Paliyam Manuscripts Library, Jayantamangalam, Cochin, 1925. Also ed. Prabhakara Sastri Veturi, Vavilla Press, Madras, 1925.

until the messenger of Yama restores the equilibrium and returns the souls to their respective bodies. Although a small piece, the play achieves real humour, not by cheap witticisms and clownish acts, but by a genuinely comic plot and commendable characterisation. It is easily the best of the Sanskrit farces.

We can dismiss the *Dāmaka-prahasana* of unknown date and authorship, the main incident of which covers about three printed pages,<sup>1</sup> as no one can seriously call the fragment a Prahasana or even a noteworthy work in any respect. The Dāmaka-incident is an obvious imitation of the usual Vidūṣaka-episode of the normal drama, while the two added pieces of a few lines are fragmentary and unconnected and have no comic element in it. The slight work looks like a selection of scenes or half-scenes, containing verses culled from well-known works, and compiled for some kind diversion. The *Nāṭa-vāṭa-prahasana*<sup>2</sup> of Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayani, is also of unknown date and does not strictly conform to the technical requirements, but there is no reason to suppose that it is an early work. It has the coarseness of later farces and does not exhibit any noteworthy literary characteristics. The Prologue in the form of a monologue, in which the Sūtradhāra carries on by means of Ākāśabhāṣita, may be an interesting relic of an old trait, but it may have been suggested by the established method of the Bhāṇa. Although some characters are common, the two Saṃdhis of the play are entirely unconnected and the suggestion that it was composed on the model of some popular dramatic spectacles of looser technique is not improbable.

The remaining farces, which have been so far published, are of a coarser type and have little to recommend them. There is some rough wit, as well as satire, but it is often defaced by open vulgarity, while the descriptive and erotic stanzas possess little distinction. The earliest of these is the *Lataka-melaka*, or 'the Conference of Rogues'<sup>3</sup> composed apparently in the first

1. Ed. V. Venkatarama Sastri, Lahore, 1926.

2. Ed. Granthamālā ii, Bombay, 1887.

3. Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1889; 3rd ed. 1923. There several quotations from this work in the *Sāṅgadhāra-paddhati* and the *Sāhitya-darpana*, which undoubtedly place the work earlier than the 14th century.

part of the 12th century under Govindacandra of Kanauj by Kavirāja Saṅkhadbara. It describes in two acts the assembling of all kinds of roguish people at the house of the go-between Danturā for winning the favour of her daughter Madanamañjari. They represent a number of types, each labelled with a particular foible, indicated by their very names. First comes, with his parasite Kulavyādhi, the profligate professor Sabhāsali, who having a ferociously quarrelsome wife Kalahapriyā seeks diversion in the society of the courtesan. As the girl has accidentally swallowed a fish-bone, the quack doctor Jantuketu is called in; his methods are absurd, but his words and acts make the girl laugh with the happy result of dislodging the bone. Then appear the Digambara Jatāsura and the Kāpālika Ajñānaraśri quarrelling; the cowardly village-headman Saṁgrāmavisara, with his sycophant Viśvāsaghata; the hypocritical Brahmin Mithyāśukla; the fraudulent preceptor Phuṇkaṭamīśra; the depraved Buddhist monk Vyasanākara interested in a washer-woman, and other similar characters. There is a bargaining of the lovers, and in the end a marriage is satisfactorily arranged between the old bawd Danturā and the Digambara Jatāsura. The *Hāsyā-cūḍāmaṇi*<sup>1</sup> of Vatsarāja, who describes himself as the minister of Paramardideva of Kālāñjara (1163-1203 A. D.), describes with some wit the roguish ways of Jñānaśri, a Bhāgavata, who earns his livelihood by his amusing tricks based upon his pretension of supernatural powers for recovering lost articles. The *Dhūrt-saṁāgama*<sup>2</sup> 'the Meeting of Knaves' of the Maithila Jyotiriśvara Kaviśekhara, son of Dhaneśvara and grandson of Rāmeśvara of the family of Dhireśvara, was composed under King Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha of Kāryāṭa family, who ruled in Mithilā during the first quarter of the 14th century.<sup>3</sup> It is a farce of the same type in one act, in which there is a contest between a wicked

1. Ed. C. D. Dalal in the *Rūpaka-saṅka* of Vatsarāja, Baroda, 1918.

2. Ed. C. Lassen in his *Anthologia Sanscritica*, Bonn 1838 (not reprinted in the 2nd ed.); ed. C. Cappeller, in litho, Jena, 1883.

3. In some MSS. the name of the king is given as Narasiṁha, who has been identified by Keith, following Lassen, with Narasiṁha of Vijayanagara (1487-1508 A.D.). But this is clearly incorrect. See discussion of the whole question by S. K. Chatterjee in *Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference*, Allahabad, vol. ii, pp. 559-69.

religious mendicant Viśvanagara and his pupil Durācāra over a charming courtesan Anāngasenā, whom the pupil saw first but whom the preceptor meanly desires to appropriate to himself. On the suggestion of the girl, the matter is referred to arbitration by the Brahmin Assajjāti who craftily decides, after the manner of the ape in the fable, to keep the girl for himself, although his Viduṣaka also covets the prize. It should be remembered that the author also wrote a work on the art of love, entitled *Pañca-sāyaka*<sup>1</sup> and the erotic tendency of his farce, therefore, is not unexpected.

The other extant farces belong to a much later period. The *Hāsyārṇava*<sup>2</sup> of Jagadiśvara follows in two acts the general scheme, with a slight variation, of bringing rogues and rakes together in the house of the bawd Bandhurā, which the King Anayasindhu, Ocean of Misrule, visits to study the character of his people as they are drawn there by the beauty of her daughter Mṛgāṇikalekhā. The series of characters who enter comprises the court chaplain Viśvabhaṇḍa and his pupil Kalahāṅkura who quarrel over the possession of a courtesan; the incompetent doctor Vyādhisindhu, son of Āturāntaka, who wants to cure colic by applying a heated needle to the palate; the barber Raktakallola who has cut his patient; the police-chief Sādhuhimṣaka, Terror to the Good, who reports with great satisfaction that the city is in the hands of thieves; the comic general Rapajambuka who is valiant enough to cut a leech in two, and the ignorant astrologer Mahāyāntrika. In the second act, the efforts of the chaplain and his pupil to obtain the damsels meet with opposition from those of another religious teacher, Madāndhamiśra and his pupil, who are 'birds of the same feather.' The older men succeed, and the two pupils content themselves with the old hag, knowing that they would share the young girl on the sly. The work is disfigured by unredeemed vulgarity of words and acts, and cannot in any sense be regarded as an attractive production. The *Kautukasarvasva*<sup>3</sup> of Gopinātha Cakravartin composed for

1. Ed. Sadananda Sastri, Lahore, 1921.

2. Ed. C. Cappeller, in litho print, Jena 1883; ed. Srinath Vedanta-vāgiśa, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1896, with a Skt. commentary.

3. Ed. Ramacandra Tarkālankāra, Calcutta, 1828. Analysed by Wilson, ii, p. 410 and by C. Cappeller in *Gurupūjā-kaumudi*. (*Festschrift A. Weber*), Leipzig 1896, pp. 59-62; Dacca University Ms no. 1580 D.

the Durgāpujā festival of Bengal, is also a late work, but it is less vulgar and more amusing. It describes in two acts the wicked pranks of king Kalivatsala, Darling of Iniquity, of Dharmānāśa city, addicted to the hemp juice and fond of other men's wives, who oppresses the Brahmin Satyācāra, proclaims free love, becomes involved in a dispute over a courtesan whom every one wants to oblige, and ends by banishing all good people from the realm. The king's advisers are his minister Śiṣṭāntaka, his chaplain Dharmānala, his followers Anṛtasarvasva and Pañḍitapiḍāviśārada, his courtiers and noblemen Kukarmapañcānana and Abhayyaśekhara, and his general Samarajambuka, their names explaining the dominant traits of their character. Although less vulgar and more amusing, the work is of little merit and possesses no greater appeal in its plot and characterisation. The *Kautuka-ratnākara*,<sup>1</sup> another Bengal work, was composed by the royal priest surnamed Kavītārkika, son of Vaṇinātha, of Lakṣmaṇamāṇikya (end of the 16th century) of Bhuluyā (in Noakhali). It ridicules an imbecile king Duritārgava of Punyavarjita city, who relies on his knaves to recover his abducted queen. Although she was sleeping well-protected in the arms of the police-chief Suśilāntaka, she was forcibly taken away on the night preceding the spring-festival ; the king acts on the advice of his minister Kumatiḍūja, his priest Ācārakālakūṭa, his astrologer Aśubhacintaka, the physician Vyādhivardhaka, the obscenely named overseer of his harem Pracaṇḍāśepha, his general Samarakātara and his guru Ajitendriya, and appoints a courtesan Anaṅgatarāngī in her place to officiate at the festival, until a Brahmin, named Kapātaveśadhārin, is accidentally revealed as the abductor. As in the other farces described above, the oddities and antics of these characters supply a great deal of vulgar merriment, but it is not free from the faults of exaggeration and coarseness which take away the edge of its satire and comic portraiture. To the latter part of the 17th century belongs the *Dhūrta-nartaka*<sup>2</sup> of Sāmarāja Diksīta<sup>3</sup>, son of Narahari

1. Dacca University Ms. no. 1821 (fragmentary). Analysed by C. Cappeller, *op. cit.* pp. 62-63.

2. Analysed by Wilson, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 407.

3. On Sāmarāja and his date and works, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetries*, i, p. 320 ; P. K. Gode in ABORI, x, pp. 158-59, where a work of Sāmarāja (*Rosa-kallolini*) is stated to be dated 1719 A.D.

Bindupurāmdara and author of a number of poems and of the play *Śridāma-carita*. It is a farce in one act but in two Sandhis, composed in honour of a festival of Viṣṇu to ridicule chiefly the Śaiva ascetics. The ascetic Mureśvara is in love with a dancing girl, but his two pupils to whom he confides his passion, attempt to oust him and seek to expose him to the king Pāpācāra. The play is comparatively free from the usual grossness, but it has little fancy or humour to recommend it.

The Sanskrit Prahasana, as a whole, suffers from poverty of invention and lack of taste. The interest seldom centres in the cleverness of the plot or in well-developed intrigue, but in the follies and oddities of characters, which are often of a broad and obvious type. Neither in the incident nor in the characters there is any vivid and animated use of colour and movement ; and there is hardly any sense of proportion in its caricature. The whole atmosphere is low and depressing. We have neither thoroughly alive rascals, nor charmingly entertaining fools, for they are all thrown into fixed moulds without much regard for actualities. The characters are low, not in social position, but as unredeemingly base and carnal ; and there being no credit for any other quality, they are hardly human. The procession of unmitigated rogues of their rougher pastimes need not be without interest ; but there is no merit in attempting to raise laughter by deliberately vulgar exhibitions and expressions, which mar the effect of the plays even as harlequins and caricatures. The parodies of high-placed people lose their point, not only from tasteless exaggeration, but also from their extremely sordid and prosaic treatment. Even if refinement be out of place, in a farce, detailed and puerile coarseness is redundant and ineffective. It is no wonder that very few of the Sanskrit farces have survived.

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KAVI KAUSTUBHA, AN UNKNOWN WORK ON  
POETICS BY RAGHUNĀTHA MANOHARA  
AND ITS CHRONOLOGY—BETWEEN  
A.D. 1675 AND 1700

P. K. Gode

Aufreicht mentions no work of the title कविकास्तुभ. Dr. S. K. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* also contains no mention of any work of this title. Recently I came across a Ms. of this work through the favour of Vaidya Śivarāma Raghunātha Khāndekar of Nasik. He was under the impression that this work was composed by his grand-father Rāghava Kavi<sup>1</sup> or Raghunāth Āppā Khāndekar of Punya Stambha or Puntāmbe in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency. On examination I find that the Ms. of कविकौस्तुभ is not a work of Rāghava Kavi but that it belonged to him as I find from the endorsement towards the end of the Ms.<sup>2</sup>

As this work on rhetorics is unknown to Sanskritists I shall describe the present Ms. and determine the Chronology of its author *Raghunātha Manohara*. The Ms. begins :—

“ || श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
अथ काव्यप्रबंधानां शल्यरूपान्समायतः ।  
दोषान्वक्ष्ये क्रमेणैव पूर्वचायैः प्रदर्शितात् ॥ १ ॥  
अंदोभ्रष्टं क्रियाद्यस्तं क्रमहीनमसंमितं ।  
अपार्थं व्यस्तसंबंधं श्लिष्टागमविरोधि च ॥ २ ॥  
यतिभ्रष्टं तथा न्यूनपदे चैकार्थमेव च ।  
व्यर्थं रीतिभ्रष्टमवस्थाद्रव्यभेदकम् ॥ ३ ॥

1. I am preparing a special paper on the unknown works of Rāghava Kavi who flourished between A.D. 1758 and 1820 or so.

2. This MS contains 25 folios and is written on country paper. It is well preserved and appears to be about 150 years old. It contains the following post-colophon endorsement :—

“ पुस्तकमिदं खाडेकरोपनामक आपाजीपतात्मज  
रघुनाथनाम्नः सत्यं श्रामत्पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्रे लिखापितम् ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवापीणमस्तु ॥ ” Many works of Rāghava were composed and written at पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्र or Puntāmbe.

तथा देशकलान्यायकालहेतुविरोधिकं ।  
 खण्डताधिपदे चैव तथा हीनोपमस्मृतम् ॥ ४ ॥  
 इति वाक्यात्मका दोषाः पददोषास्ततः क्रमात् ।  
 स्वसंकेतप्रकृत्यार्थमप्रसिद्धमलक्षणम् ॥ ५ ॥  
 अगौरवं श्रुतिकदुषुनरक्तिरसंभवं ।  
 व्याहतार्थं तथा ग्राम्यं पददोषाः स्मृता तथा ॥ ६ ॥ ”

The Ms. ends :—(folio 25b)

“ रघुनाथमुखारविनदतो विगल्पचलसन्मणिस्त्रजा ।  
 इति तद्रचयन्तु सुन्दरं किल कण्ठाभरणं विपश्चितः ॥ १०७ ॥

इति श्रीकविकौस्तुभे महाकाव्यकविकुलावतंसमनोहरेपनामककृष्ण-  
 पण्डितसनुश्रीमद्भूमसूरिसुतश्रीमद्रघुनाथपण्डितकविकृतौ दृष्णकथनं नाम  
 द्वितीयं रत्नम् ॥

This Colophon gives us the following genealogy of the author Ragunātha Manohara :—

(C. A.D. 1600) कृष्णपण्डित of the Surname मनोहर



Son

(C. A.D. 1650) भिक्षभट्ट



Son

(A.D. 1697) रघुनाथपण्डित the author of the कविकौस्तुभ.

I am inclined to identify this रघुनाथ मनोहर with रघुनाथ मनोहर the author of वैद्यविलास a work on Medicine represented by several Mss.<sup>1</sup> in our libraries. References to earlier works and

1. Vide Aufrecht CCI, 613, II, 146.—I. O. Cata. No. 2695 and B. B. R. A. S. Cata. by H. D. Velankar, Nos. 206 and 207. There are two Mss of वैद्यविलास at the Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute, Poona) No. 600 of 1899-1915 and No. 636 of 1895-1902. They are described by Dr. H. D. Sharma on pp. 363-364 of his Des. Cata. of Vaidyaka MSS (Vol. XVI, Part I), 1939. MS No. 600 of 1899-1915 is dated Śaka 1736 = A.D. 1814. If belonged to one दिनकर ज्योतिष (Dinkar Joshi). In some colophons the author is called “कविकुलावतंस रघुनाथपण्डित” (See fol. 9b). In the Ms of कविकौस्तुभ also he is called “कविकुलावतंस रघुनाथपण्डित”. The author refers to himself as “कविराघव” in verse 2 at the commencement:—

“ सदुक्तिभाजां कविराघवेण वितन्येत वैद्यविलास एषः ॥ ” The work is styled as “महाकाव्य” No. 636 of 1895-1902 is a very modern copy without date,

authors mentioned by Raghunātha Manohara in his कविकौस्तुभ are :—

- (1) धात्रुककवे: | काव्यशेखरे—fol. 2.
- (2) “ मद्विरचित्छन्दोरत्नावल्याम् ”—fol. 2, 8,  
“ यदि द्वितीयं च चतुर्थपञ्चमं...गीता ॥ १० ॥ ”
- (3) सुश्रूते—fol. 2.
- (4) रघुवंशे—fol. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 22, 23.
- (5) सुहूर्तंचिन्तामणौ—fol. 3.

This work was composed in Śaka 1522 = A.D. 1600  
by राम Son of अनंत and पद्मा (Vide pp. 275, 278 of  
S. B. Dikshit : *History of Indian Astronomy*, 1896).

- (6) किरातार्जुनीये—fol. 3, 7, 16, 19, 21, 25.
- (7) ममट—fol. 3, 6, 18,
- (8) माध—fol. 3, 10, 19,
- (9) रत्नमालायाम्—fol. 4.
- (10) रसमञ्जर्याम्—fol. 4, 13, 21,
- (11) नैषधे—fol. 5, 24,
- (12) “ चन्द्रशेखरस्य काव्यकुतृहले ”—fol. 5.
- (13) “ भवभूतेः साहित्यरत्नाकरे—fol. 6, 23.
- (14) सङ्गीतरत्नाकरे—fol. 7.
- (15) भनृहरो—fol. 7.
- (16) “ कविमण्डनस्य कृतपञ्चाशिकायाम् ”—fol. 8.  
“ गुञ्जन्तः किल मुकुलेषु मत्तभृङ्गाः  
संथाते स्मरन्तपतौ सितेषु रेतुः ।  
भेरीणां प्रसवितपाटले निदावे  
कुर्वन्तो जथ निनदानिव प्रहृष्टाः ॥ ”
- (17) “ मयूरकवे: काव्यमण्डने ”—fol. 10.  
“ सर्पिः इत्रुयशो हवीरिपुगणाः...त्वया तर्पिताः ॥ ६५ ॥ ”
- (18) कुमारसम्भवे—fol. 10, 21,
- (19) “ मदनकवे: शृङ्गारकौमुद्याम् ”—fol. 11.  
“ कुचकोरकगुसिसोदरा नववोढा न पति तिरश्चकार ।  
भयमीलितलोचना भृंगं करपङ्केस्त्वद्वद्द.....॥

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In the *Gotrāvalī* of *Konkṇastha* or *Chitpāvana* Brahmins we find the surname मनोहर. The Gotra of the मनोहर family is भारद्वाज (हिरण्यकेशी). The MS of the वैद्यविलास described in the India Office Catalogue mentions मनोहर as the surname of its author रघुनाथपंडित.

(20) “ वराहसिंहिरस्य शृङ्गारतरंगिण्याम् ”<sup>1</sup>—fol. 12.  
     “ पीयूषं पुरुषपले च चन्द्रकांते  
     निक्षिसं विजुकिरणैर्भृशं चकोराः ।  
     ग्रेणा ते चपलतया च पात्रकल्पे  
     घमार्गोस्तस्थकलैर्घनीकृतं च ॥ ५५ ॥ ”

(21) “ धनंजयस्य कामप्रदीपे ”—fol. 12.  
     “ धनतरनवदिव्यकाननाली  
     कुसुममरुद्रति खिन्नरीणां ।  
     अममहरदथन्विलासिनीनां  
     सुललितचन्दनपल्लवेषु भिन्नः ॥ ५६ ॥ ”  
     Vide CCI, 93—कामप्रदीप alam. B. 3-46 (of गुणाकर).

(22) प्रबोधचन्द्रोदये—fol. 22.

(23) हमाद्री।

(24) “ धनंजयकवे: शृङ्गारमञ्जर्याम् ”—fol. 14.  
     “ ललिततर निकुञ्जके किनादो.....मानिनीनां ॥ ६६ ॥ ”  
     (Vide CCI, 661—शृङ्गारमञ्जरी by king Shahaji and a work  
     of this name on अलङ्कार etc.)

(25) “ चिन्तामणिव्याख्यायां शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्यः ”—fol. 18.  
     “ चिन्तामणेः—दीधितिव्याख्यां ”—( About 1500 A. D. )

(26) सारङ्गायाम्—fol. 19.  
     “ सुरासुरैर्वन्दितपादपद्मं.....देवगुणं शिवं च ॥ ८० ॥ ”

(27) “ कद्ग्राणकवे: भावपञ्चाशिकायाम् ”—fol. 20.  
     “ सिन्धुसूनुपतेर्थित्रं.....भाति ते कीर्तिमण्डलम् ” ॥ ९ ॥  
     (Vide CCIII, 88—भावपञ्चाशिका Kāvya by Kavi Vṛnda).

(28) “ कुटुम्बकवे: प्रस्ताववन्धे ”—fol. 20.  
     “ दधाति चन्द्रः किरणैश्चोरान्... प्रकृतिहिताय ” ॥ ८५ ॥

(29) “ ललमुहूर्तसार ”—fol. 23.

(30) कुवलयानन्दे—fol. 24—“ उपमा यत्र सादृश्य...अवगाहते ”

Appaya Dikṣita composed the कुवलयानन्द. The life period of Appaya is A.D. 1554-1626 (72 years) according to his descendants while others assign Appaya to the period A.D. 1520-1593 (Vide p. 341 of भटोजी-दीक्षित-ज्ञातिविवेक in Marathi by Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar, Bombay, 1939).

1. Vide p. 272 of *History of Indian Astronomy*, by S. B. Dikshit शृङ्गारतरंगिणी is a comm. on अमशतक by सूर्यसूरि or सूर्यदास (Born Saka 1430 = A.D. 1508) Vide Aufrecht, I. 660.

It will be seen from the above references that the latest works mentioned by the author of the कविकौस्तुभ are (1) सुदूर्तचिन्तामणि of A.D. 1600 and (2) कुबलयानंद of Appaya Dikṣita (A.D. 1550–1600 or so). We must, therefore, conclude that he flourished after about A.D. 1650. As our author seems to be identical with his name-sake कविकुलावत्संस रघुनाथपांडित मनोहर author of the वैद्यविलास composed in A.D. 1697 the date of कविकौस्तुभ may be between say A.D. 1675 and 1700 or so.

So far only one work of this author viz. वैद्यविलास on *medicine* was known. The present account of the कविकौस्तुभ proves conclusively that he composed this work on *poetics* as well. We have seen above that in this work he refers to and quotes from a work on *prosody* called the छन्दोरत्नावलि composed by him “मद्रिरचितठन्दोरत्नावल्याम्” in two places. As no such work has been discovered so far I quote below the verses from this work as quoted by रघुनाथ मनोहर :—

*Folio 2a*—“अन्न छन्दसि मद्रिरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम् ॥

यदि द्वितीयं च चतुर्थेष्वाम  
तथाष्टमं तदृशमं भवेदगुरु ।  
यदाक्षरं द्वादशकं महीपते  
गिरनिं वंशस्थमनल्पधीपणाः ॥  
यदा द्वितीयं च तथा चतुर्थं  
सखे भवेत्यं चमकं च दीर्घं ।  
तथाष्टमं वा दृशमं तथाष्टम  
उपेन्द्रवज्ञारघु(?)पुना गीता ॥ ”

*Folio 8a*—“अन्न प्रथमचतुर्थचरणयोर्यतिभङ्गे । छन्दोरत्नावल्याम्

सखे यदि च पष्टकं तदुचाष्टकं द्वादशं  
द्वितीयमपि यदा वा गुरु च षोडशाग्रान्त्यगौ ।  
चतुर्दशमय ऋमात्सकलभाग्यवारांनिधे  
श्रुतिद्रव्यसर्वसुपौर्विरतिरङ्गं पृथ्वी मता ॥ ”

It is clear from the above three verses quoted by our author that he composed this छन्दोरत्नावलि earlier than his composition of the कविकौस्तुभ. Perhaps a Ms. of Raghunātha's छन्दोरत्नावलि may be discovered hereafter. The present paper has added two more works to the only work वैद्यविलास of Raghunātha, known to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature. It has also

given us the names of his father भिर्भट्ट and his grandfather कृष्णपंडित not found in the MSS. of the वैद्यविलास as we find them described in our Catalogues<sup>1</sup> of Sanskrit MSS. The genealogy of रघुनाथ मनोहर thus goes back to about A.D. 1600.

As regards the native place of Raghunātha we learn from the India Office Ms. of the वैद्यविलास that it was चंपावती which has been wrongly identified with Bhagalpur by Dr. Eggeling<sup>2</sup> in his description of this Ms. As the author was a Deccani Brahmin his residence must have been somewhere in the Deccan. This suggestion gets confirmation from the identification of चंपावती with Chaul as we find it in the following verse in the *Sivabhārata* of Kavīndra Paramānanda composed for Shivaji before A.D. 1674:

1. B. B. R. A. S. MSS Catalogue by H. D. Velankar. Vol. I, 1925 describes 2 MSS of the Vaidyavilāsa. He describes the work as follows on p. 70 :—

“A popular treatise on medicine in 10 Chapters (*tarangas*) composed in 1697 A.D. by *Raghunāthapandita* of the *Manohara* family and a resident of चंपावती (भागलपूर). For another MS of the work having only 6 Chapters Cf. I. O. No. 2695. See also *Ulwar Cata*, p. 72.”

The MS ends :—“इति द्रव्यप्रमाणम् ।

ग्रहेन्दुरसचन्द्रे च शाके भासि च कार्तिके ।  
अयं वैद्यविलासश्च चरितो वृषवत्सरे ॥ ५२ ॥

.....  
मनोहरकुलाम्बोधे रघुनाथविधोर्मुखः ।  
वाग्निर्मैरेऽसज्जनाऽहृत्यश्च विकसत्विह ॥ ५४ ॥  
चम्पावतीपुरनिवासवतादरेण  
संदर्भितश्च रघुनाथकवीभरेण ।  
मोदाय वैद्यविदुषां गदस्पदनाय  
मान्यः सतां जयति वैद्यविलास एषः ॥ ५५ ॥

‘इति श्रावैद्यविलासमहाकाव्ये कविकुलावंतसरघुनाथपंडितकृतौ दशमस्तरंगः ॥१०॥’

2. Vide p. 949 of I. O. MSS. Cata. Pt. VII (1896) MS No. 2695.

“Vaidyavilāsa.....by *Raghunātha* (or *Rāghava*) *Pandita Kavīvara* of the *Manohara Kula* a resident of चंपावतीपुर (Bhagalpur)”. Mr. Nandalal Dey on p. 228 of his *Geographical Dictionary* refers to *Chaul* as follows :—

“Chaul—चंपावती, 25 miles South of Bombay; it is the Semylla of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. ”

(See also p. 46, Ibid and Da Cunha’s *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 3-11).

Chap. XXVIII, 59—Here the Mogul General Shaista Khān orders another Muslim Sardar to conquer चंपावती :—

“ चंपावत्यथ कल्याणपुरं भीमपुरी तथा ।

पणवळी पुनर्नागस्थानं कार्यं त्वयात्मसाद् ॥ ५९ ॥ ”

Apart from the usage of the name चंपावती for *Chaul* as found in a poem of the latter part of the 17th Century, when Raghu-nātha Manohar lived at this place we may note here the fact that *Chaul* or *Revdandā* (in the Alibagh Sub-division of the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency) is a place of great antiquity. “Under the names of चंपावती and रेवतीक्षेत्र local Hindu traditions trace it to the times when Krishna reigned in Gujarat.”<sup>2</sup>

We may now sum up the facts so far brought forth regarding the life-history and literary activity of रघुनाथ as follows :—

(1) Raghunātha Manohara composed the following works :—

(1) वैद्यविलास on Medicine composed in A.D. 1697.

(2) अन्दोरनावलि a work on prosody mentioned and quoted in the कविकौस्तुभ—No Ms. discovered so far.

(3) कविकौस्तुभ on Poetics represented by only one Ms. in the possession of Vaidya S. A. Khandekar of Nasik. This Ms. belonged to Rāghava Āpā Khandekar ( A. D. 1758–1825 ).

(2) The genealogy of Raghu-nātha as recorded by him in his कविकौस्तुभ is as follows :—

कृष्णपंडित → son भिकंभट → son रघुनाथ

(C. 1600 A.D.)—(C. 1650 A.D.)—(A.D. 1697).

1. चंपावती = चौल; कल्याणपुर = कल्याण; भीमपुरी = भिवंडी; पणवळी = पनवेल; नागस्थान = नागोठणे.

Shaista Khān gave the above order during his Camp at Poona ( पुण्यपुरस्थितः शास्त्राखानः )

2. Vide p. 376 *Imperial Gazetteer Vol. III* (1885). From the History of *Chaul* recorded here we learn that Chaul was known to Ptolemy ( A.D. 150 ) to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* ( A.D. 247 ) and to Hwen Thsang ( A.D. 642 ). The Arab travellers of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries also refer to it. The subsequent travellers to refer to Chaul are :—(1) *Nikitin* ( A.D. 1470 ), *Jean Hugues* ( A.D. 1583 ). In 1505 A.D. the Portuguese first appeared at Chaul.

(3) The native place of Raghunātha Manohara was चम्पावती which appears to be identical with *Chaul* about 25 miles South of Bombay.

(4) In his कविकौस्तुम् Raghunātha mentions and quotes from the following works which are not recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* :—

- (i) काव्यशेषवर.
- (ii) His own छन्दोरस्नाचलि.
- (iii) काव्यकुत्तहल.
- (iv) अस्तुपञ्चाशिका.
- (v) काव्यसंषडन.
- (vi) शृङ्गारकौमुदी.
- (vii) सारङ्गी.
- (viii) प्रस्ताववंध.
- (ix) भावपञ्चाशिका.<sup>1</sup>

1. The work भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Raghunātha appears to have been in Sanskrit. Kavi Vṛnda's भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Aufrecht (CC III, 88) appears to be a Hindi work. Vide E. O. R. Institute No. 361 of 1892-95—"इति श्रीकवीचृद्विरचीता भावपञ्चासिका संपूर्णा". The Ms records two dates viz. (1) संवत् १८४३ (A.D.=1687) and (2) संवत् १९४७ which is not obviously Vikrama Samvat. The first date may represent the date of composition while the second represents the date of the copy.

## THE CARWAR FACTORY AND SHIVAJI

B. G. Tamaskar

[ *Continued from Vol. VII, Nos. 1 & 2* ]

### 9. *The Karwar factors, experiences of the Marathas :—*

“Wee have sufficiently participated with calamityes of the countrey since our new comers have invested themselves in the possession, for our Carwareans to wind themselves into your favour, with their owne insulting inclination hath bred noe small difference, as to the robbing us of our former rights and priviledges the first affront they gave us was in respect of our coconutt trees belonging to our garden which they would come and tell and likewise the coconutts upon them, wee told them wee never used to be examined in the Moores time how many trees wee had. But that wee did pay 1 pago & Tipkee a year to them as a duty, but never received any further trouble, with this answer they would not be satisfied, but wee was forced to send them an account they were soe tyrannicall as they would have obligeid us to sell the coconutts to them, but wee put them of the business lyes deed, now sooner had we lulled the businesses asleep and thought that all our trouble had bin over, but was surprised with a far greater perplexity, for the simader (?) being informed by the incendiaries to mischiefe, he upon the change of Government when most people rann away that they left their rice with our peons, upon the newes he sends that Towne Musumda(r) to search for it, wee haveing advice upon what account he came sent for him and told him wee would enquire of our peons, about it and if hee could produce any sufficient testimony he should not only have their rice but see the peons severally punished that wee are guilty of such a fault, with this he went away some thing satisfied to our thinking, noe sooner was hee gon out of the dore, but sends his peons to severall of our servants houses to take account of the rice they had not time to carry any away, for our servants was at their backs and frighted them away without any harme done wee sent for that Musumder and gave him a small check for his impatience and all past very quietly till the next day ; and then he began his ould

trade to search, wee past that ower with a gentle admonition not to invade our privileges which councell hee took for that time and desired us to examine our servants if they had any rice of people that had ran away, wee promised him wee would, which wee did and found a good quantity of other mens rice among our peons, which they confess soe soone as they were askt, wee had the account drawne out to show that Siminidar when soe ever he should demand it, that wee might end all further trouble, when he came over he did not soe much as send to us to know whiter wee had done any thinge in the businesses, but sends and takes out all the rice that did belong to one of our servants, wee hearing of it examined the list and found that our servant had some of other mens, soe desired the Simidar to returne what he had taken more then is due, but wee perceived he mocked us and soe wee brought it back ourselves without any harme done. After we were returned to our house the Mesinede (ordered forth) with to the Simidar to send him some horse and foott to force us to a better complayance to deliver them soe much rice as their account speaks. Wee told him wee would deliver up according to our account and the force for nothing else should compell us to doe otherwise, wee have turned out of the garden all the rice that belongs to them ; we heard the Simadar would faine have quarrelled with us about this business as they pretend, and to the purpose did desire the Governor of the castle to spare him 100 men to joyne with his 30 horse and soe come to rob us and our peons. But the Governor being an understanding man, and knowing how the Simidar had abused us put him of by telling him he must have the Rajahs order, our troubles are renewed daly and *we can never expect the Factory to florish as long as it is under Sevagees Government*, they have robbed all the country people soe much as to the seed they should sowe, soe that the next year the men will be ready to eat one another for the new crop will be very small, all people pray that the moores may come and regaine the country and there is a rumour that they will come after the raines. Timmanna waited their coming to joyne them a few dayes more will discover that certainty.

Wee have made bold to send our complaints to the Rajah he being something higher us then you that wee might not loose soe

much time for an answer as your honour &c letter would take up. But wee desire you to write him about it, and nor answer from the Rajah with his order to the Semidar, will keep him in some bounds of civility till a letter comes writ by your honours &c. instigation.”<sup>1</sup>

It is, of course, clear that servants overdo the ways of the master. So was the case at Karwar. Having waited for some relief and solution, the Karwar factors again complained to Bombay on the 28th July 1675 ;—

“(S) Our troubles with these interloper assult us afresh for about 10 dayes together wee was not molested with their impertinencies. Butt now being we could not send them money which they have bin very importunate for continually hinting us what wee have spared Mahmud Ckaune and other Moores upon a necessity wee alwaies gave them a modest denial that thought wee sent them away empty they had now reaon to be dissatisfied with us. But these men are soe unreasonable that they look upon it as an affront to be denied though we have it not and to make us sensible of it they have brought up a new custome as to make us pay custome att Burbullee which is att the bottome of the Gaute these insolencies if suffered will make them thinke they cannot impose to much upon us, wee know not what to say or doe, for wee cannot send a letter to your honour &c. But they must have something for it or will not lett it passe ; wee wrote formerly to your honour &c. of their affronts cast upon us hoping that you will take this and the Hubelly businesse into your serious consideration that our factory may come once more to shine in its former splendour, having lost much of its reputation.

(P) Here is uncertaine newes, and therefore we know not what may be done after the raines, but if the Moores should come to conquer these partes and that Sevajee should come here in September, as it is bruited, wee desire your Honour &c. as there may be occasion to order the Captaines accordingly, for if this Kings army and Sevajees lies hereabouts we thinke it will be insecure bringing any goods down the Gaut but Mergee way.”<sup>2</sup>

1. (S) F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, Fols. 73 and 74, Carwar to Bombay, dated 1 July 1675.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, Fols. 89 and 90, Carwar to Bombay, dated 28 July 1675.

Again they complained to Bombay on the 22nd August 1675:-

"Wee informed your honour &c. in our general ( sent per your returned cossitts ) that wee had sent a letter of complaints to the Rajah of his ministers insolance here ; which letter wee sent by thoe cossitts to Rajahpore and desired our friends there to forward it with all speed possible to the Rajah, being businessee of now small import. Our owne peons as they returned back from Surratt called there to know whiter they had any letters from this factory or Callicutt they did not show soe much good will to us, nor respect to our honourable masters affaires as enough to receive the Rajahs answer to send it to us, which we suppose they have detained....

The Semidar having received of the country people that keeps Buffiloes, and cowes according to their Rojapore custome and is endeavouring to impose that according to our order, as a duty that never was demanded by the Moores ; they upon this have seized upon all their Buffaloes and cowes and tell us with all they will never returne them till our servants doe fully satisfie the Rajapore duty so that wee believe they will remaine in the Semidars power, till Mr. Oxinder our chiefe comes down for wee are resolved never to considiscend that our servants shall pay them anything for their releasement ; wee have an invincible to...passe by soe many wrongs. Having respect to your honours &c. order esteeming itt more beneficall to our honourable masters affaires and miexcussable to advise your honour &c. how y(e)t by shoting through our sides they mean to catter downe the company's honour then to goe to right ourselves by any unwarantable meansas.

Wee may blesse God that we have a house that is of force sufficient to defend us from their rafine and plunder ; for wee doe not question if wee were at their mercy, wee was in the Moores time we were on the other side (our tottering house being rather an offence (? than) defence) wee had long ere this been devested of all."<sup>1</sup>

The affairs at Karwar continued as before :—

"As for affairs at present they are as wee formerly advised you, the Simidee ( Jamindar or Zamorin ) maintaining his

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1. (S) F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, Fols. 112-112, Carwar to Bombay, dated 22 Aug. 1675.

vyolence and preamitarily tells as that he will not lett goe our servants cattle without they will complie with their Rajapore custome which they say is to pay for each buffillo 4 larrees and for a cow one, we are advised that they pay at Rajahporee (?) Larres a buffilos and one for a cow that is not all for they demand custome of buffilos and cowes for the former yeare when the country was governed by the mores ; we lye very quiett waiting with impatience for Mr. Oxindens comeing downe hoping to meete with some satisfaction towards the repairing our Honour. Wee judge wee shall drive a very little trade if the country continues subject to Sevagees Tyranny. We expect to carry our cloth to ( Vingurla ? ) and there to Land in shipp that shall come downe.”<sup>1</sup>

To the above complaints the Surat Council sent the following reply by way of instructions :—

“Wee take notice what you adviced about Sevajees attempts on the Sunda Rajah countrey, and by (sic) the prudent accomodation made by Timona and the Ranah, and their resolution to defend themselves against Savajee. We also observe the disturbance and ill treatment you have received from Sevajees officers, which you have represented to Savajee, and wee doubt not but hereafter they will beh(ave) themselves more civilly toward you. In the meane time wee would have you be very dilligent over the Companys affai(res) and use all prudent meanes to preserve our privilidges and keep a faire understanding with the Governor and all the officers that the Company’s busnesse may receive noe prejudice ; and withall be wary in your proceedings and doe not trust those needy officers more than necessity forceth you unto.”<sup>2</sup>

And a few days after, it sent to the Karwar factors “Sevagees cole or passe which you may make use of when any of Governors or Generalls shall molest and trouble your.”<sup>3</sup>

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1. (S) F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, Fols. 167, Carwar to Bombay, dated 29 Aug. 1675.

2. O. Correspondence, Vol. 36, No. 4122, Surat to Carwar, dated 16 Oct. 1675.

3. Original Correspondence, Vol. 36, No. 4127, dated Sidally Marine, 9th Nov. 1675.

The political condition of Bijapore went from bad to worse :—“In the interim the Company suffer greatly in their factories of Rajapore and Karwar, and all trade impeded no merchants adventuring to buy any goods, and all the weavours fled from their houses, no place being secure, that they cannot settle to worke nor dare we intrust them with any quantitie of money till affaires are better setled.”<sup>1</sup>

*10. Dissolution of the Karwar factory thought of :—*

The English being not satisfied with the treatment given by Shivaji or his officers at Rajapore and Karwar decided to dissolve the factory not only of Rajapore but also of Karwar if it continues long under his jurisdiction. With this end in view the Surat Council wrote to Bombay—“Wee would have you alsoe withdraw all trade and correspondence out of his countrey,...”<sup>2</sup> At this Mr. Child pleaded with the Surat Council to continue the factory of Rajapore and Karwar, but suggested to put them under one chief.<sup>3</sup>

During the absence of Shivaji in the Karnatik, his forces in Maharashtra proper were almost calm and doing no offensive action. So along with others Karwar also enjoyed peace. After his return pillaging expedition began as usual. How Karwar was affected by these is shown in the following extract :—

“Wee having received advices lately from Hubely how the Governor is very sollicitous to have the Companys goods and likewise our broker Samdas into the castle under colour of securing them and him from Sevagees fforces who lye hovering thereabouts and have lately sent an embassadour to him to demand a quar(ter)nt. of the revenue which hee resolutely denies them our broker knowing him to be in great want of money to defend his castle if those fforces should come and beseige it will not consent to hazzard the Companys goods and his person into his custody, which the Governor resents very much, soe that he suspects him and is forced to absent himselfe in the adjacent townes for feare of his Tiranny our zeale to our honourable masters concernes did prompt us after very serious

1. F. R. Fort, St. George, Vol. 28, pp. 34-5, Surat to St. George, dated 1st May 1676.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 89, pp. 69-70 dated Sedally Merine, 17th Oct. 1676.

3. Original Correspondence, Vol. 37, No. 4253, dated 10th Jan. 1677.

debate to endorder Nath a Lownds repaire thither as fearing the Governors mallice in taking advantage of our brokers absence likewise if Sevagees forces should beseige and take Hubelly the Companys goods would be very much endangered if there were not an English man to protect and countenance them, therefore, we hope these thins considered, what wee have done, will receive your approbation.”<sup>1</sup>

In December 1677, a new Subedar was sent to Karwar by Annaji Pandit, :—“He hath given us the honour of vissit and promises very faire, but wee very must doubt his performance.”<sup>2</sup> The Karwar factor had yet to complain against the unsettled eondition in the Adilshahi kingdom and its effects upon their trade :—

“The Duccanees haveing taken possession of Vizapore doth put us in great hopes that trade will be open and flouringhing as formerly, which wee impatiently expect, knowing and greviag to see that our Honble Masters are at soe great charges and reape, but very little benefit.”<sup>3</sup>

The Surat Council writing to the Company on the 18th March 1678 complains :—

“Your factories of Rajapore, Carwar ( where Mr. Lounds is lately dead ) and Callicut are at present under a very unsettled condition ; the two first by the civill wars of Decan and the troubles of Sevagee, the last by the great abuses put upon your affaires and servants by the Rajahs and Governours under the Samorine, as will at large appeare to you by the letters sent us from thence, which were forwarded to you by your shiping for your more particular satisfaction therein, asureing your Honra if some timely and fit care be not taken to assert your interest with those brutish Mallabars it were much better you withdrew your servants in time.”<sup>4</sup>

The Karwar factors wrting to the Surat Council on the 5th May 1678, say :—

“The affaires upon the General in Hubely are to our now shall grieve in a distracted condition there than here. The

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, fol., 36, Carwar to Surat, dated 13 Dec. 1677.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, p. 47, dated 23 rd January 1678.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 89, p. 70.

4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 89, p. 70, dated Swally Marine.

Governor Antue Panditt having a long time together with that Manhar (? Mahajan) or chiefe merchant in towne abused and affronted us ; continually craving money and threatening the imprisoning the Banyan, if would not assist him there with which hee till denying him by our order, the Governor 12 days since sent 20 of his peons and forced open the Companys warehouse being locked and tooke out 25 percent of Broad cloth and putt them to saile in she Bazzarr though now merchants as yett hath bought it declaring this was because wee would not let him have 500 pagodas as a tax putt on us rich (? income tax) which wee never were brought into nor never will if possible that hee sayes was partly to the payments of Sevajee 1/4 part of the revenues of Hubely veliott ( Vilayat,), having made peace with him upon those termes and partley towards the payment of a regiment of souldiers maintained for the security of the towne, wee formerly writh him a letter to desire his civility to the Banyans there but hee slighted it and gave us now anserc, upon that wee have thought fitt being the best remedy to hispated Shamdash Banyan ( who before putt that rogue in his Government) to Vizzapore without letter and press to Sirajah Caune, Siddy 'Mussade, Jamsher Caune, Sillim Caune and Ammed Caune the chiefe Viziers of the kingdome with coppie of the late king Ally Eddull shaws Phirmaund and deceased Bulloll Cauns cole laying before them the abuses received by the Governor and desiring satisfaction of what rifled from us an enjoyment of our former priviledges, which will we question not but be effected by their sending a new Governor and strickt orders to others in place round about Hubely where our comerce is. This wee thought fitt with advice of the Banyans to do having been hindered from sale of our Europe goods by the Governor and if continued hinder our investment for Europe."<sup>1</sup>

So, the Surat Council now seemed almost determined to abolish the Karwar factory along with that of Hubli :--

"Wee take good notice of the great abuses put upon you both by the Ministers of Sevagee at Carwar, and those of Vizapore at Hubely, which last is an attempt of soe strong a

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1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, pp. 91-92, Carwar to Surat.

nature in breaking open the Honble Company's warehouse, taking out their goods and then offering them to publike sale in the Bazzar that wee cannot but highly resent, therefore doe enjoyno you speedily to dispose of all the Company's goods remaining both at Hubely and Carear, and if you cannot turne their proceed into such goods wee inorder'd you to provide for the insuing yeare wee would then have you keepo it ready in cash, and with yourselves be fully prepared to receive such further orders by our Europe shiping as may be concluded most fit and convenient for the better securety the Honble Company's affaires there fore the future (this in answer to the letter of 5th May).<sup>1</sup>

But the Karwar factors could neither procure the goods required for Europe<sup>2</sup> nor sell what they had especially at Hubli "What remains below with us cannot sell a pie worth, here being not a merchant in these parts dare be seen to buy anything considerable."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the Surat Council again repeated on the 13th August 1678 the previous instruction issued on 31st May 1678. On 24th August 1678<sup>4</sup> (F. R. Surat, vol. 107, p. 135) the Karwar factors had much better to say of Shivaji's men :—

"Wee thank God wee are very quiett here, liveing at amity with Sevagees Ministers since our last renewing off friendship with the Subedarr, not in the least molested by them in (any) of our proceedings, or having our bowells tourne out by them like vultures for mony as formerly. Wee were once friendly solicitated by our Carwar Governor to lend him 3 in 400 Pagodas, but gave him a friendly and faire denyall as becomes merchants, laying before him the unsettledness of the times, that wee neither bought or soould any goods consideroble, and only lived upon the maine stock to keepe up the Honble. Companys and nations creditt in expectation of better times, with which hee was satisfied and have heard noe more from him since in that point."

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 89, pp. 104 dated 31st May 1678.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, fol. 118, dated 29th Jane 1678.

3. (S) F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, fol. 119, dated 3rd July 1678.

4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, pp. 116-117, dated 13th August 1678.

At the same time, according to previous instructions from Surat, the Karwar factors kept themselves in readiness :—

“ We are—sorry—for the unsettledness of tynes in these parts. What your Honour, &c. writes concerning the getting in the Company’s debts and making sale of their goods remaining wee are not in the least tardy, continually useing our endeavours to accomplish your desire therein; our goods remaining in Hubely are not many, and debts also, what are, is in sure hands wee thinke.”<sup>1</sup>

#### *11. The Dissolution of the Karwar Factory :—*

The Surat Council was, however, determined to abolish the factories of Karwar and Rajapore on account of their dissatisfaction at Shivaji’s men :—

“ Your Decan factorys, which are Carwar and Rajapore, are become soe inconsiderable, especially the last through the ruine and distruption that reignes in those countrys by Sevagees’ robery’s that we are fully resolved to withdraw your servants from the last, their charges much exceeding any answerable returnes in provision or sale of goodes of late, but Carwarr we shall continue in hopes that parte lying further from Sevagee’s strength may sooner be reduced to its former settlement and security under the younger King of Vizapore, who we are advised by his Generalls hath had some hopefull success against him in a late battle, and wherein, if it should please God to prosper him soe as to recover those partes of his kingdome ( at present possessed by Sevagee ), and able to protect and secure them, we may hope to see trade flourish there more then formerly, and as wee shall find a future encouragement shall looke againe towards Rajapore, but as subordinate to Carwarr, which is certainly the prosperest residence for the Cheife managment of the affaires of both.”<sup>2</sup>

In their consultation held on the 15th September 1679 ( F R Surat, Vol. 4, p. 69-71 ) the Surat Council resolved again to abolish the Karwar and Rajapore factories. But the Hendri Kendri aslaire<sup>3</sup> came in the way for a long time, Shivaji’s men

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107, pp. 153-54, 29th September 1678.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 39, No. 4563, fol. 3, 4, 5, 23; Surat to the Compay, dated 21st Jan. 1679.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 108, p. 76, dated 24 th Nov. 1679.

did not come in the way of the factors of Karwar or Rajapore on account of the Hendri Kendri affair :—

“ As to your factorys of Rajapore and Carwarr, wee have already advised you our endeavours to withdraw your servants from Rajapore the last monzoone, but was hindred by that Governours not permitting them to leave the shore, and this yeare the unhappy business of Hendry Kendry hath prevented us, soe that untill wee can come to some good agreement with Sevagee in that business, there is noe getting them from thence.”<sup>1</sup>

In this connection, the Surat Council sent to Bombay the following instructions :—

“ Therefore upon a serious debate and discussion of all circumstance in relation to our condition as to ability and restriction by the Company, if you cannot find Sevagee will be brought to any acceptable tearms of composition, and wherein we would have you remember to add our house at Carwarr, that if wee shall find reason as to our bussiness of merchandize to withdraw our factors for a time, wee may have liberty to leave two or 3 of our house servants of those cuntrey people to keepe possession and take care of it till we shall returne thither againe (which you may hint will not be long); then we have concluded it would be better to lett it fall into this King’s hands then to remain in Sevagees.”<sup>2</sup>

Writing on 8th April 1680, the Surat Council again informed the Company,... “Therefore shall order them to be in a readiness against the arrivall of your Europe shiping, when shall not faile to bring them away and totally dissolve that factory.”<sup>3</sup> Just at this time there occured the death of Shivaji. So the circumstances became again unsettled and the subedar gave troubles to the Carwar factor’s :—

“ The Subedarr of these parts, by name Jugguean Boyage (? Jagajivan Bajaji) Punditt, having put severall abuses and affronts upon us which we have suffered with a great deale of patience, but especially by a continuall demand of loans of moneys which we denied to send, being far in the Companys

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1. Original Correspondence, Vol. 40, No. 4691, fols. 9, 12, 16, 22, 29, Surat to the Company, dated 24 January 1678.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 12, pp. 2-3 ( Ind. set ) dated 13th Dec. 1679.

3. Original Correspondence, Vol. 40, No. 4699, dated 8th April 1680.

debt already, besides have orders from the President and Coun-cill for the withdrawing on the Europe Shipp. Hee on the 26th instant commanded severall souldiers out of the Castle with commission to force us to it by detaining and prohibiting all provision to come into the Factory, which constrained us to a small brush, which drove them hence with little damage. The Subedarr finding himself to be frustrated in his intentions hath seized what cows and buffoloes was without our reach, belonging to our immediated servants and put (them) to sale ; likewise thre(ats) of stopping all commerce whatsoever and haveing agreed for a quantity of pepper on the Honoble Companys account to be delivered in Cudderah, which is under his jur(i)s diction, we have thought it convenient to send this express to you with our letters to Sombajee Rajah &ca., which understand to be at Rairy, therefore neere you, desire your care with a speedy conveighance to be sent to his reception, and if in this you can be any ways assistant by writeing, we question not your Honble Masters concernece (?)”<sup>1</sup>

But it seems that after Sambhaji became settled on the throne, circumstances changed for the better and, therefore, the Surat Council was in a mood to continue the Karwar factory :—

“ About (April 1680)—were received advice of Sevajees death, confirmed to us from divers parts (and which in reality is soe though often contradicted since), and his son Sombajee Rajah settled quiettly in his father’s place, whose present proceedings seeme to speake him to be of a contrary spiritt and temper to his father, by a much more moderate and humane Government ; therefore could have heartily wished your Honrs. had left us power to have continued your factory of Carwar, that country now beginning to breat(e) towards a settlement.”<sup>2</sup>

But on account of differences that arose on account of the Siddis, the Rajapore factory was withdrawn in the beginning of 1682 or towards the end of 1681. So, it seems at this very time the Karwar factory was also abolished.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 46-47, Carwar to Surat, dated 31st August 1680.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 40, No. 4705, dated 18 (?) Oct. 1690.

## THE RIBHUS AND THE FOUR SOMA-CUPS

R. Shamasastri

I have already shown how the Chamasa cup with its bottom turned upwards and its mouth downwards with Yosas and seven Prāṇas in it is described in the Vedas, Purāṇas, and the Bhagavatgita. I pointed out that the cup is the celestial sphere and the Prāṇas are the seven planets. The Ribhu-sukth (R. V. 1 161) gives us some more details about the same Cup and the planets having their abode in it. In this hymn we are told that three men called Ribhu, Vibhva, and Vāja, all sons of a king called Sudhanvan, divided the celestial sphere into four parts of three months each and gave the planets new names descriptive of their functions. They called the two major planets the sun and the moon, hari — a name synonymous with Haris and Suparna. (R. V. 1 164, 20 and A. V. X 8, 8). Mercury and Venus are called Aśvins tied to the chariot of the sun. Mars is called Agni, as usual; and P. Phalguni and Jupiter are called cows regenerated from their skins, the only relic of their dead body. The upper part of the celestial sphere is the sky (Dyauḥ) and the lower part is the earth (Prithivi). Between these two come the regions of air and water. These four parts form the four seasons of the year; the sky corresponds to the winter, the air and water correspond to summer and autumnal rains with wind, and the earth is the terrestrial region which yields crops. The appearance of the Dog-star called Sunāśira, Serius, is the time of the rainy season. This is the sum and substance of the hymn which runs as follows :

Whether older and greater or younger and lower is he who has come to us, — (we do not know) on what errand has he come? What shall we say? We do not speak ill of the Cup which has had a noble origin, having come out of the wood, — thus we have praised, O Brother Agni, its virtues. 1

The Cup that is single, turn ye into four: thus bade the Devas: Therefore Have I come (to tell you this). If you, the sons of Sudhanva, will do this thing, you shall take your seat among the gods. 2

And they spoke to Agni, the messenger : a duplicate steed has to be made ; a chariot has to be made ; two cows are to be made ; and the twain are to be made young. Having done this, O Brother, we shall attend to you.

Having done this, the Ribhus asked : Where is he gone ? He had come to us as a messenger ? 3

Thereupon Tvashtar having looked at the four Cups that has been wrought hid himself among the maidens. 4

And when Tvashtar said, " Let us slay these men who have reviled the Cup, the drinking Cup of the Devas." New names were then made whenever the Soma-juice was poured ; and under these new names the maidens bringing them forth manifest them. 5

( *Note*—The new names are : Adhvaryus are the Asvins ; Hotar is the planet Mars ; Udgatar is Jupiter ; and Brahma is Saturn : ( or the sun ) ).

Indra yoked the two steeds ; the Asvins tied themselves to the chariot ; Brihaspati took up the cows of various hues ; and you, Ribhu, Vibhva, and Vaja went to the Devas ; and being eminently skilful, you have obtained a share in the sacrifice. 6

By your talents you created ( two ) cows from out of a hide ; you endowed the old couple with fresh youth : " O sons of Sudhanva, you formed a duplicate out of a horse ; and you fashioned a chariot, and have gone among the gods." 7

( *Note*—In R. V. I. 110 and 111 the two Cows are said to be cow and calf. )

Drink ye this water ; said the priest, " or drink ye this, the rinsing of the Munja-grass : and if, O sons of Sudhanvā, that, too, is not to their ( your ) taste, then at the third libation make yourself merry. 8

( *Note*—This refers to the share of sacrifice given to the Ribhus in the third libation, that is " third eclipse " only ).

Most excellent are the waters : said one ; most excellent is Agni, said another ; another praised the Vajra weapon of the sky ; thus you all speaking the truth, fashioned the four cups. 9

One leads the crippled cow ( Šroṇa — the asterism of Śrāvana where Saturna has his abode ) to the water's edge ( the

Āshādha asterism); another trims the flesh that is cut by the knife; and yet another carried off the refuse to where the Nimrichas stand (the asterism Asleṣa). What more can the parents (Dyavapṛithivyau — the two solstices one, in the sky and the other on the earth marked by Śrōṇa and Asleṣa) expect their children to do? 10

(*Note*—The two crippled cows are: one is Pūrvaphālguni who dies of hunger and thirst by sticking to his own place longer than any other and thereby subjects himself to occultations; the second is Jupiter who is cut by the knife-like moon of sixth day in the white half of the month and is to be nourished, vide, K. V. X. 61.)

O heroes, you made grass grow on the uplands; you stored the waters in the valleys: all this is done by your own skill: and then you take your rest and sleep in the house of one whom nothing can hide, longer than you, O Ribhus, appear at day-time. 11

(*Note*—The upland is the sky. Rohiṇī asterism is described as a hill full of Kuṣagrass.—Vide R. V. X 61. As gods of seasons, the Ribhus have their abode in the sun; they are invisible.)

When you, O Ribhus, glided through the worlds, covering them, where did the venerable parents stand? You laid a curse on him who raised his arm at you. You blessed him who spoke good words to you. 12

(*Note*—This refers to the difficulty of recognising the regions of Śrōṇa and Asleṣa, the places of the parents during the rainy season or at the time of eclipses. At such a time recognition of the places of the parents depends on the knowledge of the division of the celestial sphere into four parts. Hence Ribhus can not be abused and dispensed with.)

When they had slept well, the Ribhus asked, “O thou, (the sun) whom nothing can hide, who has wakened us?” He answered: “It is the dog — (Serius, the dog-star appearing at the summer season) that has wakened you at the close of the year (~~Śeṣivatsara~~). It is only now that you have made this known to all. 13

The Maruts proceed along the sky ; this Agni moves about on the earth ; Vāyu courses through the firmament ; Varuṇa comes by the waters of the sea ; but they all desire your presence, O sons of strength.

14

If the Chamasa cup is the celestial sphere or circle where the gods drink of Soma on the newmoon day or on the occasions of lunar eclipses, then there can be no doubt whatever that the four cups that are turned out of it are the four divisions of the same sphere or circle. Each divisions corresponds to a quadrant. Since the sun takes three months to pass through a quadrant, he takes 12 months to move through all the four quadrants. Now the last two months of the 4th quadrant and the first two months of the first quadrant make up the Uttarāyana time. The 3rd month of the first quadrant and the 1st month of the 2nd quadrant together with the last month of the 3rd quadrant and the 1st month of the 4th quadrant — four months in all — make up the time of air and water. The remaining months of the 2nd and the 3rd quadrants form the earth. The two Haris are (the light and dark halves of the lunar month), usually called horses. They are the horses of Indra's car. Here the Charioteer, the chariot, and the horses are all the same single planet differentiated by names. P. Phālguni and Jupiter in occultation are called cow-skins ; for by remaining in the same place long they seemed to have reduced themselves to mere skin for lack of food during their penance.

## NOTES ON THE SIEGE OF PURANDHAR BY MAHĀRĀJĀ JAI SINGH

H. Goetz

The siege of Purandhar by the Mughals in A. D. 1665, under the personal command of the viceroy of the Deccan, Mahārājā Jai Singh I Mirzā-Rājā of Ambēr-Jaipur, has been one of the classical sieges of India. For not only was it the prelude to Shivājī's famous visit to Agra in 1666, with all its far-reaching consequences for the history of India, but it was also the first major clash between the overwhelming power of the Grand Mughals, with all its traditional prestige, and the daring enterprise of the young Marātha kingdom of Shivājī, revealing all the military virtues and defects of both parties.

In the fourth volume of his "History of Aurangzēb" and in his "Shivaji and his Times" Sir Jadunath Sarkar has compiled a detailed account of this siege which is as clear and exact as is possible without a prolonged study of the local circumstances. A good description of Purandhar is to be found in the "Poona District Gazetteer" but it mentions this siege only in a few lines and hardly offers just those details which are necessary for a correct appreciation of the military difficulties and achievements of this famous siege. The following notes, based on detailed local observations, are intended to supply this complementary local evidence.

To the south-west of Sāsvad Purandhar rises as a high mountain massif above the hill chain bordering the Karba Valley on its southern side. On and around its highest peaks the two forts, Purandhar proper (to the west) and Vajragadh (to the east) are situated, connected by a narrow ridge, the Bhairav Khind. Of these the smaller one, Vajragadh (originally Rudramālā, under Muslim rule Wazīrgadh) had originally been the more important, having been constructed by the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, Hasan Gangu, in 1350. It consists of a lower fort on the east, protected by a two-storeyed bastion in the direction of another high cliff group beyond a small ridge, and divided into two sections by an interior semi-circular shield wall; and of an upper fort on the west, upon a small plateau encircling a number of isolated cliffs, and in its turn surrounded

by an exterior defence line protecting the projecting cliffs on the south west (above the Bhairav Khind) and on the north (overlooking a long and smoothly rising spur.)

Purandhar proper, though surrounded by one high line of almost inaccessible cliffs rising to a height of 200-300 feet, actually consists of two peaks (Kedāreśvar and Rājvāda), connected by a high, narrow ridge, and of several spurs to the northwest, southwest, south and east. That to the east is connected with the main massif by a broad plateau and then by a somewhat lower, very narrow ridge. In early Bahmanī (Gulbarga) times only this plateau had been fortified, in the later Bahmanī (Bidar) period the strong, two to three-storeyed bastions (Khandkada Burj on the east side, Shindi Burj on the northwest, Konkāni Burj to the west, Fatteh Burj to the south) were added, under the Nizām-Shāhīs an extensive palace was built on the plateau and the present Delhi Darwāza (leading up to the cliffs just at the start of the ridge which leads to the Khandkada Bastion) and the exterior Ganesh Gate (the entrance to the castle proper, at the edge of the plateau) constructed. The lowest section of this ridge which is so narrow that it offers just sufficient room for an open corridor, had to be bridged by a sort of dam in which a small staircase leads down to a postern gate (Khirkī) on the southern side. Another gate (the Khanda Darwāza), between the Fatteh Burj and the palace plateau, was probably built by Peshwā Bālaji Bājī Rāo (1720-40) and must be left out of the account of the siege of 1665.

A new development was initiated by the Mughal siege of 1627, as on that occasion the palace had been burnt down, and the settlement thereupon was moved down to the lower fort, the Machi. This lower fort which occupies a terrace on the north side of the upper fort, was fortified between 1627 and 1647, the year when Shivājī took the place. On its east end Shivājī built the fine Padmāvatī Tank (Rājaval Talaō) but had, for this purpose, to transfer the fortifications on the Bhairav Khind to an unfavourable position, as they could there be overlooked and kept under fire from an adjoining high hillock. The fortification walls, therefore, bifurcated at the North Gate into a first line, with the two "White Towers", and a second line with the Shāh Burj or "Black Tower".

As we shall see, this section actually proved to be the vulnerable spot of the else apparently impregnable fortress. On the south and west side the high cliffs of the upper fort could hardly be scaled, and also the lower fort was to the north and west protected by cliffs and steep slopes and by the gigantic Shindī and Khandkada bastions overtopping both ends of the Machi wall at the Konkānī and Bharrad Darwāza. Although the hillock on the Bhairav Khind was under the fire of Vajragarh and could not be used as basis of an attack, as long as Vajragarh resisted, its occupation could cut the reinforcement of that place. The first which the Mughals, therefore, undertook, was the capture of that high hillock on the Bhairav Khind. Already the day after Mahārājā Jai Singh had occupied Sāsvad, the vanguard under Dilēr Khān stormed it (30th March 1665), burnt down a vāda and some houses standing there, but had to entrench just outside the range of the guns of Vajragadh. Whereas the fortifications nearby have since been destroyed almost to the last traces, this hill has been left practically untouched. The vāda must have been a quadrangular tower constructed for the protection of the road connecting the two forts, with foundations cut into the rock wherewas the houses must have been very poor huts of which no vestiges remain. But the excavation for the vāda and the Mughal trench facing the Purandhar side in a semi-circle round the hill are still to be seen ; on the Vajragadh side the ridge is somewhat rising in rocky steps which, together with some isolated cliffs, offer just sufficient protection from the guns of Vajragadh to crouching or entrenched troops. Although the two forts had thus been isolated from each other, any aggressive action from this point was for the moment still out of question.

Jai Singh, therefore, began to organize a full-fledged siege. On the 31st March he moved his camp to a distance of four miles of Purandhar and his troops began to occupy positions round the place. Apparently the main positions were on the spurs branching off from both hills, with thin lines of outposts between. The only positions in the plain seem to have been the stockade of Kīrat Singh below the Binī Gate (in the centre of the Machi north wall), the posts of Rājā Karan Rathor on the west side, and part of the line of Dāūd Khān to the south.

Nar Singh Gaur must have occupied the Lagana Mukh (north-west) spur below the present "Hospital", Jagat Singh of Narwar and Sayyid Maqbul 'Alam the Mesel Met and a second spur below the Konkānī Bastion; the Bonchika (Bhorjika) Met below the Fatteh Burj must have been the centre of the position of Dāūd Khān and of the mansābdārs under him, the shoulders to the south of the Khandkada Burj, now occupied by the cemetery, slaughter house and bakery, were in the hands of Rasūl Beg Rōzbānī who from there advanced his trenches against the walls between the Khandkada Bastion and the Bharrad Darwāza. The cliff tops and ridges to the east of Vajragadh were controlled by the Bundēlas of Rājā Chaturbhūj Chauhān whereas the long spur to the north was occupied by Dilēr Khān himself and Turktaż Khān. There are still vestiges of their camps on some of the ridges, especially on the last-mentioned one (some of these latter are, however, only herdsmen's enclosures), on the Bhorjika Met and especially below the Konkānī Burj, just where the path leads down to the Mesel-Met.

The hill on the Bhairav Khind occupied by the Mughals was undubitably the best vantage ground for an attack against Purandhar. But this attack was only feasible if Vajragadh had been captured. For this purpose Dilēr Khān drew up the heavy siege artillery of Turktaż Khān, three famous guns named Abdullah Khān, Fath-Lashkar and Haheli, on the long ridge to the north of Vajragadh where the weakest point of that fort is to be found. For the very broad and rather slowly rising hill spur forms an excellent ground for major siege operation against the, here low-lying, line of cliffs which just at this point are also of rather moderate height. This side of Vajragadh had, therefore, from the beginning been protected by a double defence line and, apparently later, by a projecting bastion to the east from which it was possible to keep the spur ridge under cannon fire. It is possible that some excavations on this, since that time hardly touched spur may be the old emplacements of the Mughal artillery, as they are just within the range from the walls characteristic for the guns of that time. Just under the cliffs there are ruins of a small tower, too well built as to be a herdsmen's shed and without any other obvious purpose. It may have been an advance work for special marksmen posted here in order

to make a control of the foot of the cliffs by the defenders impossible. For only a few steps further sappers were cutting out mine-tunnels, somewhat to the west of that northernmost bastion, so that they were just outside the range of the cannons of the already mentioned bastion further to the east. In the night of the 13th April the mine was blown up, covering the hill slope with gigantic basalt blocks still to be seen. The Mughals stormed the fortifications apparently with the help of ladders. For the wall proper, lying some yards further to the back, had not been damaged at all, so that the terror caused by the gigantic explosion alone seems to have induced the defenders to leave their posts for some time. When after the first shock they returned, the Mughals must already have got a foothold on the bastion, and drove them back to another lower enclosure. This was the section of the exterior defence line to the east which connects the north bastion with the lower fort and is separated from the first by a special wall. The next day Dilér Khān tried to escalade the second line, actually the centre of Vajragadh, whereupon the garrison surrendered. The second defence wall has at some time been completely rebuilt at this place, and also the present wall is considerably damaged, but it is not quite clear whether these are vestiges of the siege of 1665. So much, however, is certain that on the rather narrow ground rising to the second, not very high wall a terrible fight must have gone on between the 13th and 14th April.

I cannot go here into less important details of the siege on which the archaeological evidence does not throw any new light: the endeavours of Shivājī to raise the siege, the reinforcements and provisions slipping in through the jungle to the Khirkī Gate, the trenches of Dilér Khān under the Kandkada Burj, the sallies of the besieged from the Bini and Khirkī Gates, etc. With the fall of Vajragadh the back of the troops entrenched on the Bhairav Khind had become free so that from the hill overlooking the Lower Fort the then usual war machinery could be advanced against the two "White Towers". On the northern slope of this hill there are vestiges of a ramp which may possibly have been used for the moving platforms advanced against the walls, after the towers had been demolished by the guns placed on the hill top. At the end of May the situation became desperate for the

Marāthas, and on the 2nd June a truce was concluded preparing for the first treaty of Purandhar (11th June). Shivājī ceded not only Purandhar, but also twenty-two other forts, and delivered himself into the hands of the Mughals, on the promise of safe conduct given by Mahārājā Jai Singh.

And yet the strongest defences of Purandhar, the Upper Fort, had never been threatened at all by the Mughals. Why had the Marāthas been unable to retire into this impregnable citadelle and to continue their brave resistance? No doubt, the Marāthas must have had great losses which were to be felt the more as they had fought with only 2000 soldiers against an army of 20,000 and as new heavy guns were expected in the Mughal camp. But this cannot have been decisive. For the inaccessible heights of the Upper Fort could have been held even with a small force. The real reason was that Purandhar had neither sufficient water nor accommodation. When the place was surrounded, seven thousand persons, including women and children, left the Machi. But at present Purandhar has water only for ca. 500 people, although the tanks of both upper forts and of the lower fort are used, although many tanks have since been enlarged, and although many tube-wells have been added. Even with the utmost privation there could not be sufficient water for 7000-8000 (before the losses) people, and in the first days of June the tanks must simply have been dry. It might, however, be argued that at the sacrifice of many lives killed by thirst the garrison might have been able to hold out until the monsoon which might have been expected within one to three weeks. Yet, as we have already mentioned, since the siege of 1627 the upper fort had been completely abandoned. Where to house a garrison and the survivals of their families on a high plateau without houses in the torrential monsoon rains, and where to keep the provisions dry against rotting? Without the rains the murderous thirst, and with the break of the rains disease and starvation, these were the expectations before the besieged. They had to surrender, and even the last days between truce and peace must have been terrible. This would not have been unavoidable if then the Marāthas had taken the necessary precautions in time, as later on did the Peshwās, by constructing a number of granaries, etc. in the upper fort. But however daring and fine fort climbers Shivājī's men had been, they had at that time still little experience in the arts of fortification and siege technique.

**THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SIDDHĀNTA-  
MUKTĀVALI-PRAKĀŚA AND THE UPPER  
LIMIT FOR THE DATE OF  
GĀNGĀRĀMA JĀDIN**

G. V. Devasthali

A reference to the Cat. Catal. of Aufrecht<sup>1</sup> shows Mahādeva and Bālakṛṣṇa as the joint authors of the commentary called Prakāśa on the Nyāya-siddhānta-muktāvalī (NSM) of Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana. Looking to the introductory<sup>2</sup> and the concluding<sup>3</sup> stanzas of the commentary itself, however, we find that though the idea of joint authorship is corroborated in them yet the names of the authors as given in them are different from those noted by Aufrecht. The introductory stanza clearly gives Mahādeva, the son of Bālakṛṣṇa, as the author of the commentary. The first of the two concluding stanzas equally clearly states that the work directed or started by his father was brought out or completed by Dinakara. Thus the authors of the commentary would appear to be not Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa Dinakara and his father Bālakṛṣṇa as stated by Aufrecht, but rather Mahādeva and his son Dinakara. It would, therefore, not be right to speak of Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa Dinakara as one name as is being done till today. This idea about the authorship of the Prakāśa also seems to find corroboration in the colophon at the end of the work which in the printed edition<sup>4</sup> of that commentary reads :

1. Cf. p. 436 b where Aufrecht writes : 'महादेव भट्ट दिनकरः son of Bālakṛṣṇa, pupil of Nilakantha : Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvaliprakāśa or Dinakari, written jointly with his father'. Also cf. p. 469b where the entry is "Dinakari" by Bālakṛṣṇa and his son Mahādeva Dinakara.

2. लक्ष्मीपादयुगं प्रणम्य पितरे श्रीबालकृष्णाभिधम्  
भारद्वाजकुलाम्बुधौ विष्णुभिव श्रीगौरवास्याम्बुजात् ।  
जात्वा शोषमतं सितेन वचसा सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली-  
गुडायास्तनुते यथासति महादेवः परेणां सुदे ॥

3. मानुं प्रणम्य परिभाव्य च शास्त्रसारं मुक्तावलीकिरणं एष पितृप्रदिष्टः ।  
सद्गुरुस्तिभिर्दिनकरेण करेण सोऽज्ञां चीतः प्रकाशपदवां सुविद्यां सुदेऽस्तु ॥

4. A valuable edition of this commentary together with the Rāmarudrī thereon upto the end of the śabda section is edited in the Sri Bālamanoramā Series under No. 6. This edition also includes two more commentaries

इति श्रीभारद्वाजकुलाम्बुधिपूर्णचन्द्र बालकृष्णभट्टमज महादेवभट्टतनूज-  
श्रीमहिनकरभट्टविरचिते न्यायसिद्धान्तसुक्तावलीप्रकाशे गुणनिरूपणम् ॥ समाप्त-  
श्रायं ग्रन्थः ॥

From the colophon it is quite clear that the author of the Prakāśa is Dinakara, the son of Mahādeva, the son of Bālakṛṣṇa of the Bhāradvāja family. But since such a colophon is not found in all MSS. no very definite conclusion can be drawn from it unless it finds some other piece of corroborating evidence. This I propose to set forth in the following lines.

Gaṅgārāma Jaṭin has written a sort of gloss<sup>1</sup> on this Prakāśa wherein he quotes lines after lines from the Prakāśa mentioning at the same time the name of the author who is responsible for them. In this fashion he has quoted the the Prakāśa at least fifteen times and curiously enough in about nine of these he gives the name of Mahādeva as the author, while in the rest he ascribes the texts quoted not to Bālakṛṣṇa as we might expect, but to Dinakara. Gaṅgārāma, as I have shown else where,<sup>2</sup> is the son of the daughter of Dinakara and was in his early career a ward and pupil of this illustrious grand-father of his. Gaṅgārāma has also stated it in no ambiguous terms that Dinakara, his maternal grand-father, was the author of the Prakāśa on the NSM.<sup>3</sup> Taking into consideration this relation of Gaṅgārāma with Dinakara we cannot but accept his statements in this matter as more authentic than any thing else.

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on the NSM., the Prabhā and the Mañjuśā. It also contains a gloss on the Prakāśa, called Gaṅgārāmajaṭiyam. There is another good edition of the Prakāśa together with the Rāmarudriyam upto the end of the upamāna section only, published by NSP, Bombay, 1916.

1. It is published in the Sri Bālamanoramā Series, No. 6. cf. note 4 above.

2. cf. Bombay University Journal, Vol. XI (New Series), Part 2, pp. 84 ff.

3. Commenting on the expression मुक्तावलीप्रकाशात् occurring in the introductory stanza of his own तर्कामृतचषक we write: मुक्तावलीप्रकाशात् तत्त्वामातामहग्रन्थात्. This मातामह is none else than दिनकर cf. गङ्गाराम's own remark in the same work: दिनकरेण अस्मन्मातामहेन कर्त्रा etc. Bhandarkar, Report 1882-83, p. 213.

In this gloss Gaṅgārāma ascribes some quotations to Mahādeva by appending to them इत्युक्तं महादेवेन<sup>1</sup> or इति महादेवः;<sup>2</sup> but the rest are all ascribed to Dinakara with the remarks इति दिनकरः;<sup>3</sup> or इत्युक्तं दिनकरेण<sup>4</sup> or इति दूषितं दिनकरेण<sup>5</sup> or इति दिनकर-ग्रन्थः.<sup>6</sup> Tracing all these quotations in the Prakāśa we notice one peculiar circumstance that almost all the quotations ascribed to Dinakara are from the portion after the section dealing with the pratyakṣa pramāṇa, while those ascribed to Mahādeva are without a single exception from the pratyakṣa section only.

1. cf. वस्तुतस्तु स्वाधिकरणावृत्तिस्वभिक्षानवमेकत्वमित्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 857); सङ्करश्च परस्परात्मनाभावसमानाधिकरणयोर्धर्मयोरेकत्र समावेश इत्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 857); दुःखदवदत्त्यात्मानात्मवृत्तिभिक्षाद्वित्वासमानाधिकरणत्वरूपमेकत्वं भासत इति चक्षुं न शक्यते ईश्वरे ज्ञानदग्धाङ्गाकारेऽपीटदैकत्वस्य भानसम्भवादित्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 857); अनेकत्वमेकमित्तत्वमित्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 858); नित्यद्रव्यवृत्तिरिति स्वरूपकथनं न तु लक्षणप्रविष्टं प्रयोजनाभावादित्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 858); स्वमित्रलिङ्गजन्यस्वविशेष्यकस्वसमानजातीयभद्रानुमित्यविशेष्यत्वमिति विशेषलक्षणं परिष्कृतं महादेवेन (p. 358); गन्धसमानाधिकरणद्रव्यत्वव्याप्तिजातिमत्त्वं पृथिवीलक्षणं अत्र पृथिवीजलान्यतरत्वमादायातिव्याप्तिवारणाय जातिपदमित्युक्तं महादेवेन (p. 862).

2. साहश्यं बड्डभावानन्तर्भूतं सामान्येतत्ववृत्तित्वे सति सामान्यवृत्तित्वात् व्यतिरेकित्वे सतीति विशेषणाच्च प्रमेयत्वादौ व्यभिचारः इति महादेवः | p. 856.

3. स्मरणात्मकपरामर्शं व्याप्तिज्ञानस्य व्यभिचार इत्यपि न तत्रापि संस्कारसम्बन्धेन पूर्वं व्याप्तिज्ञानस्य सत्त्वादिति दिनकरः p. 865; ननु वैशिष्यव्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मानवच्छेदप्रतिनियोगिताकत्वेनाभावविशेषणात् नाव्यासिरित्यत आह गुणवानिति दिनकरः p. 865; वस्तुतस्तु एकधर्मावच्छेदविशेष्यकत्वनिवेशे भिन्नरूपेण एकधर्मानवच्छेदकज्ञानस्य सेशयत्वापत्तिः एकधर्मावच्छेदविशेष्यतावच्छेदकताकत्वनिवेशे निरवच्छेदविशेष्यतावच्छेदकसंशयासङ्ग्रहः विभिन्नरूपेण एकधर्मितावच्छेदकावगाहिज्ञानस्य संशयत्वप्रसङ्गाच्चेति दिनकरः p. 878. Also see p. 873.

4. प्रमेयत्वविशिष्यभिक्षानारादावतिव्याप्तिवारणाय प्रकृतानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकधर्मान्तराधितत्वेनानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयतानिरूपतावच्छेदधर्मो विशेषणाय इति अनुमितिविरोधितावच्छेदकधर्मो विशेषणाय इत्युक्तं दिनकरेण p. 866; एतसर्वमिप्रत्योक्तं परस्परन्यत्रानुसन्धेय इति दिनकरेण p. 873.

5. नन्वत्र अनुमितितत्करणान्यतरपतिबन्धकत्वं अन्यतरनिष्ठप्रतिवाव्यतानिरूपत्वघटितं यदि तदा पर्वतो वहिमान् ध्रुमादित्यादौ वह्यभावविशिष्यहृदस्य दोषताप्रसङ्गः.....इति दूषितं दिनकरेण p. 866.

6. गुणवद्वृत्तत्वं च समवायस्वरूपान्यतरसम्बन्धेन। समवायेन गुणवद्वृत्तित्वभित्वाने ताहगस्य द्रव्यत्वप्रकारप्रमाणविशेष्यत्वस्य द्रव्ये सत्त्वादतिव्याप्तिः। अथ तेनैव तद्वत्त्वं वाच्यं तदा सामान्यादावव्याप्तिरिति परास्तमिति दिनकरग्रन्थः fol. 859.

This again is a circumstance which leads one to surmise that Mahādeva wrote the commentary upto the end of pratyakṣa in collaboration with ( his son ) Dinakara, who alone is responsible for all that follows.<sup>1</sup>

That Mahādeva Bhāradvāja is the author of the Prakāṣa is confirmed by his son Divākara in his Dānahīravaliprakāṣa.<sup>2</sup> He also mentions him as being a tārkika.<sup>3</sup> But another important thing that this Divākara mentions about himself is that he is the son of the daughter of Nilakanṭha, the famous author of the Mayūkhas.<sup>4</sup>

Equally certain it is that Dinakara the maternal grandfather of Gaṅgārāma is the joint author of the Prakāṣa together with his father Mahādeva as we know it from the opening and the concluding stanzas of the Prakāṣa itself, from the colophon at the end of the work and also from the quotations given by Gaṅgārāma in his gloss on the same.

In the face of these facts we can't but conclude that the Prakāṣa was begun by Mahādeva Bhāradvāja and left to be

14. But the colophons in both the painted editions of the Prakāṣa ascribe the work to Mahādeva alone upto the end of the उपमानखण्ड. Read e. g. 'इति श्रीभारद्वाजकुलाम्बुधिपूर्णद्विवालकृष्णभद्रात्मजमदादेवविरचिते मुक्ताकावलीप्रकाशे उपमानखण्डं समाप्तम्'.

15. Read : इति श्रीमुक्ताकावलीप्रकाशकारभारद्वाजमहादेवसूरिसूनुसकलविद्या-निधानश्रीदिवाकरविरचिते धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधी दानहीरावत्यन्ती प्रकाशे (?) दानोपयोगी (r. ग) निर्णयः ॥ Quoted at I. O., No. 1708.

16. Read : भारद्वाजकुले श्रुतिस्मृतिपद्मः श्रीसूर्यभक्तस्तथा ।  
श्यामाराधनतत्परोऽपि च महादेवोऽभवत्ताकिंकिः ।  
तत्पुत्रेण दिवाकरेण रचिते श्रीबृत्तरत्नाकरण-  
दश भद्रमतानुसारिणि परं षष्ठः समाप्ति गतः ॥१॥  
( Cf. I. O., No. 1095 ).

17. Read : श्रीरामेश्वरसूरिसूनुरभवश्चाराघणाख्यो भहान्  
यनाकार्यविमुक्तके सुविधिन विशेषश्रस्यापना ।  
तत्पुत्रो विबुधाचिपः क्षितितले श्रीशङ्करस्तसुतो  
जीवेन्द्रारिपुरोहितामलमतिः श्रीनीलकण्ठाभिधः ॥  
तत्पुत्रीतनयो दिवाकरकृती शास्त्रेष्वधीती पितुर्  
मांसांसानयकोविदः पुरभिदः श्रेत्राधिवासी सुधीः ।  
सद्विद्याविनवादिसद्गुणगणग्रामाभिरामान् गुरुन्  
देवं चोष्णकरं प्रणम्य तनुते श्रीदानहीरावलिम् ॥  
( Cf. I. O., No. 1708 ).

completed by Dinakara who would appear to be his son. But nothing very definite is known about this latter except what his daughter's son Gaṅgārāma has told us in his works. There is ambiguity particularly as regards his relation to Mahādeva on the one hand and to Divākara on the other.

Divākara, the son of this famous author of the Prakāśa, Mahādeva, has a large number of works to his credit and in almost each one of them he states his pedigree and in some he also traces his relation to Nilakantha the famous author of the Mayūkhas.<sup>1</sup> He has also stated in one place that his father Mahādeva is the author of the Prakāśa on the NSM. But nowhere does he state that his father was also known as Dinakara. The idea of taking Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa Dinakara as one name is thus absolutely baseless particularly in view of the evidence supplied by Gaṅgārāma by quoting from the Prakāśa under two distinct names Mahādeva and Dinakara.

But if Dinakara is not identical with Mahādeva what is his relation to the latter? For an answer to this question we have again to depend on the first of the two concluding stanzas of the Prakāśa which in the printed edition and also in several MSS. runs as follows :

भानुं प्रणम्य परिभाव्य च शास्त्रसारं मुक्तावलीकिरणं पप्य पितृप्रदिष्टः ।  
सशुक्तिभिर्दिनकरेण करेण सोऽयं नीतः प्रकाशपदवीं मुखियां मुद्देऽस्तु ॥

From the expression 'pitṛ-pradiṣṭah' Dinakara would appear to be the son of Mahādeva. But in that case are we to suppose that he is the brother of Divākara? It appears rather strange that Divākara nowhere mentions the name of this brother of his. Nor can we accept that Divākara and Dinakara are two names of one and the same person. For Divākara's son Vaidyanātha never calls his father by any other name but Divākara. Thus there is no definite evidence to suppose that Dinakara and Divākara are names belonging to one and the same person. A third possibility is suggested by the different reading which is found noted by Eggeling at I. O., no. 2116 where 'pitṛ-pradiṣṭah' is replaced by 'pitṛvya-diṣṭah'. This reading would make

1. Cf. Particularly the introductory stanzas of his दानहीरावलिप्रकाश and the concluding stanzas and the colophon of his वृत्तरत्नाकरार्था.

Dinakara not the son but nephew of Mahādeva. Dr. Eggeling in a footnote rejects this reading with the remark : 'The correct reading is piṭr-pradiṣṭah as in no. 580 of the Oxford Catalogue, and in no. 868 and no. 1821 of Rāj. Mitrā's Notices'. But the curious silence of Divākara about Dinakara even while describing himself as the son of the author of the Prakāśa on the NSM. seems rather to militate the idea of their being brothers, so that the reading at I. O., no. 2116 would seem to be better as supplying the relationship of Dinakara to both Mahādeva as well as Divākara. Was he a nephew of the former and only a cousin of the latter?<sup>1</sup> And was it perhaps on account of the relation being distant that Divākara kept silent about him? But whatever view is held regarding the relationship between Dinakara on the one hand and Mahādeva and Divākara on the other, it is now certain that Mahādeva and Dinakara are not only two different names but also signify two different persons; and that Dinakara and Divākara belong to the same generation and are either brothers or cousins to one another. It is also certain that the joint authors of the Prakāśa are Mahādeva and Dinakara, the authorship of the former being declared by his son Divākara<sup>2</sup> and that of the latter being declared by his daughter's son Gaṅgārāma.<sup>3</sup>

Such a conclusion regarding the authorship of the Prakāśa and consequently regarding the relationship of Mahādeva, Divākara, and Dinakara with one another is bound to affect the conclusions regarding the date of Gaṅgārāma Jādin arrived at by me elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> which are based on the assumption that Dinakara is the son-in-law of the famous author of the Mayūkhas. But from the discussion above we have now to correct our current notion and accept that Mahādeva (and not Dinakara) is the son-in-law of Nilakanṭha. This means that Nilakanṭha is, not the great-grand-father, but the great-great-grand-father of

1. But this is directly contradicted by the colophon at the end of the work quoted above. For according to it दिनकर is clearly महादेवमश्तनूज.

2. See note 15 above.

3. See note 7 above.

4. In an article on गङ्गाराम जादिन published in the Bombay University Journal, Vol. XI (New Series), Part 2, pp. 84-89 I had fixed 1690-1750 as the period of his literary activities.

Gaṅgārama : and that Divākara is not his maternal uncle, but either the brother or the cousin of his maternal grand-father. He is removed from them, therefore, by one generation more and consequently the uppermost limit for his date must be pushed forward by about 25 years. The literary career of Gaṅgārama will have, therefore, to be placed between the years 1715 and 1750 approximately.

The results of the above discussion may now be stated as follows:—i. The idea of the joint authorship of the Prakāśa, a commentary on the NSM. is right.

ii. But the authors are not Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa Dinakara and his father Bālkṛṣṇa as is stated by Aufrecht.

iii. The names of its authors are Mahādeva and Dinakara.

iv. This Dinakara is very probably a son of Mahādeva, though according to the reading in one of the concluding stanzas noted at I. O. no. 2116 he would seem to be his nephew.

v. Gaṅgārama Jaḍin is the great-great-grand-son of Nilakanṭha, the author of the Mayūkhās; and the son of the daughter of Dinakara who is very probably a brother, (or perhaps only a cousin) of Divākara, the famous author of the Dharmāṣṭra-sudhānidhi and a host of other works.

vi. The terminus ad quem of Gaṅgārama's literary career should be placed about the year 1715 A.D.

## ANEKĀRTHANĀMAMĀLĀ (in Hindi)

Vinayasāgara ( Saṁ 1702 = A. D. 1646 )

M. M. Patkar

The compilation of lexicons either according to the homonyms or the synonyms is a special feature of the Sanskrit literature. Authors like Amara, Hemacandra, Medini and others wrote special works arranging the words therein according to certain plan and grouping them under certain divisions. The Prakrit language, on the other hand, does not seem to abound so much in the lexicographical literature as the Sanskrit language. No doubt, there are a few lexicons in Prakrit like the Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra, the Pāiyalacchināmamālā of Dhanapāla and so on ; but such cases are, on the whole, very rare. Similar is the case with some of the Indian vernaculars like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and others. It is only occasionally that we find references to lexicons in any of these languages.

The present lexicon<sup>1</sup> is one of the few of its kind in Indian vernaculars. It is written in Hindi and contains 169 verses. It is a metrical composition written in the *dūhā* metre and is divided into three divisions called the *Adhikāras*. The words have no systematic arrangement and hence reference to them becomes difficult.

The author of the work is Vinayasāgsropādhayāya<sup>2</sup> who belonged to the Āñcalagaccha line of the Jain priests. He was a pupil of Kalyāṇasāgara who belonged to the same line<sup>3</sup> and who composed, for his pupil Vinayasāgara, a lexicon called the *Miśralīṅgakōṣa*,<sup>4</sup> probably dealing with genders only.

Besides the Anekārthanāmamālā two other works are ascribed to our author. These are : (1) Bhojavyākaraṇa and (2) Vṛddha-cintāmani. The former was composed by the author for Bhoja,<sup>5</sup> son of Bhāramalla I of Kaccha. As Bhoja ruled from A.D. 1631

1. A rare ms. of this work exists in the Govt. Miss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is MS. No. 1576 of 1891-95.

2. Cf. the colophon :—इति श्रीविनयसागरं पाद्यायविरचितायां द्वाब  
द्वामेकार्थनाममालायां तृतीयाविकारः संपूर्णः ॥ fol. 12b.

3. Cf. धर्मपाटिकल्यानगुर अंचलगण सिणगार । विनयसागर इयुबदे अनेकार्थ  
अविकार । fol. 12b.

4. M. D. Desai : *Hist. of Jain Literature* (in Gujarati), 1933, p. 656.

5. Cf. श्रीभारमलात्मजभोजतुष्णै । विरच्यते व्याकरणं सुपौर्णैः ॥ *Weber's Cat.*  
of MSS. Berlin, Vol. II, No. 1636, p. 204. This Bhoja has been wrongly confounded, by the late Rajendralal Mitra, with Bhoja of Dhārā (Vide *Bihāner MSS. Cat.* No. 52, 7 p. 268).

to 1645<sup>1</sup> it is evident that Vinayasāgara must have composed his grammar during this period. This grammar is in metrical form and follows the usual topical arrangement. The latter work viz. the Vṛddhacintāmaṇi is a metrical exposition of the Sārasvata sūtras.

Vinayasāgara records the date of composition of the Anekārthanāmamālā in the concluding portion of the work. The date recorded is, Thursday, the bright fort-night of the month Kārttika of Śāntivat, 1702.<sup>2</sup> This date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th Nov. 1646.<sup>3</sup> It seems, therefore, that the present work was composed after the death of Bhoja who was the patron of our author.

The following is an alphabetical list of the words, the different meanings of which are given by the author :—

अंक 7 <sup>b</sup>	कंद 9 <sup>b</sup>	कुतल 3 <sup>b</sup>	घन 4 <sup>a</sup> , 6 <sup>b</sup>
अंतर 3 <sup>a</sup>	कंबल 3 <sup>a</sup>	कुता 9 <sup>b</sup>	चंदन 12 <sup>a</sup>
अंवर 11 <sup>b</sup>	ककुद 7 <sup>b</sup>	कुबर 12 <sup>a</sup>	चंद्र 12 <sup>a</sup>
अक्ष 7 <sup>b</sup>	कदंब 5 <sup>a</sup>	कुतप 2 <sup>a</sup>	चकुर 11 <sup>b</sup>
अघ 11 <sup>a</sup>	कपर्द 7 <sup>b</sup>	कुल 8 <sup>a</sup>	चक्र 5 <sup>a</sup>
अद्वि 11 <sup>b</sup>	कमर 12 <sup>b</sup>	कुशल 7 <sup>a</sup>	चित्र 5 <sup>a</sup>
अभिख्या 4 <sup>b</sup>	कर 9 <sup>b</sup>	केनु 8 <sup>a</sup>	छाया 12 <sup>a</sup>
असृत 9 <sup>a</sup>	करट 9 <sup>a</sup>	केसरूक 8 <sup>a</sup>	जाति 5 <sup>b</sup>
अय 9 <sup>a</sup>	करण 5 <sup>b</sup>	कैवर्त 10 <sup>b</sup>	जिन 12 <sup>b</sup>
अर्जुन 3 <sup>a</sup>	करवीर 10 <sup>b</sup>	कोल 11 <sup>b</sup>	जीसूत 11 <sup>b</sup>
अवि 7 <sup>a</sup>	करि 12 <sup>a</sup>	कोश 10 <sup>a</sup>	तंत्र 3 <sup>b</sup>
अहि 4 <sup>a</sup>	कलि 12 <sup>a</sup>	कौशक 12 <sup>a</sup>	तरस 9 <sup>b</sup>
आजि(?) 8 <sup>b</sup>	कल्प 4 <sup>b</sup> , 7 <sup>a</sup>	क्षिणि 11 <sup>b</sup>	ताल 4 <sup>b</sup>
आत्मा 7 <sup>a</sup>	कल्मल 8 <sup>a</sup>	क्षुद्रा 2 <sup>a</sup>	तिलक 5 <sup>b</sup>
इन्द्र 4 <sup>a</sup>	कांड 3 <sup>b</sup>	क्षेत्र 7 <sup>a</sup>	तुरायण 10 <sup>a</sup>
ईला 11 <sup>b</sup>	कांतार 6 <sup>a</sup>	खर 5 <sup>a</sup>	तुर्यनाद 7 <sup>b</sup>
उघ 11 <sup>b</sup>	काय 11 <sup>a</sup>	खर्जूर 6 <sup>a</sup>	तुपार 9 <sup>b</sup>
उत्सङ्ग 12 <sup>a</sup>	काष्ठा 4 <sup>b</sup>	खल 8 <sup>b</sup>	तृष्णा 11 <sup>a</sup>
उपगह्य 7 <sup>b</sup>	कीनाश 8 <sup>a</sup>	गंधर्व 5 <sup>b</sup>	व्यंवक 8 <sup>a</sup>
उष्ट 11 <sup>b</sup>	कीर 12 <sup>a</sup>	गो 2 <sup>b</sup>	दया 12 <sup>a</sup>
कंठ 11 <sup>b</sup>	कीलाल 2 <sup>b</sup>	गौत्र 4 <sup>a</sup>	दर 11 <sup>a</sup>
कंकरेतु 9 <sup>a</sup>	कुंजर 8 <sup>a</sup>	गौरी 1 <sup>b</sup>	दल 8 <sup>b</sup>

1. *Bom. Gazetteer, Vol. V*, p. 137.

2. Cf. सतरसहिवीडो(?)तेरे कार्तिकमासनिधान । पूनमदिन गुद्बासरे पूरण एहि प्रधान ॥ V. 169, fol. 12b.

3. *S. Pillai: Indian Ephemeris, Vol. VI*, p. 95.

दायाद	७ <sup>b</sup>	पुण्य	८ <sup>b</sup>	मात्य	८ <sup>b</sup>	शन्या	९ <sup>b</sup>
दाव	११ <sup>b</sup>	पुरहूत	८ <sup>b</sup>	मिहुरा	९ <sup>b</sup>	शरद	७ <sup>b</sup>
दुंदुभि	१० <sup>a</sup>	पुरक	२ <sup>b</sup>	मित्र	११ <sup>a</sup>	शाली	४ <sup>a</sup>
देव	२ <sup>b</sup>	पुष्प	८ <sup>a</sup>	मृत्यु	८ <sup>b</sup>	शस्य	१० <sup>b</sup>
दोष	७ <sup>a</sup>	पूरा	८ <sup>a</sup>	मांचा	६ <sup>b</sup>	शा(सा)यक	१२ <sup>a</sup>
द्रृप	१२ <sup>a</sup>	पूर	१२ <sup>a</sup>	रंभा	६ <sup>b</sup>	शाल	११ <sup>a</sup>
द्रोण	५ <sup>a</sup>	प्रकोष्ठ	७ <sup>b</sup>	रजनी	९ <sup>b</sup>	शाला	८ <sup>b</sup>
द्विजिह्वा	९ <sup>b</sup>	प्रतिज्ञा	८ <sup>b</sup>	राजा	११ <sup>a</sup>	शिफा	८ <sup>b</sup>
धन्व	७ <sup>b</sup>	प्रत्यय	७ <sup>a</sup>	राढा(दा)	८ <sup>b</sup>	शिवा	१ <sup>b</sup>
धरा	९ <sup>b</sup>	प्रदर	१२ <sup>a</sup>	राम	४ <sup>b</sup>	शुक्र	४ <sup>b</sup>
धरु	६ <sup>b</sup>	प्रवाल	४ <sup>b</sup>	रीढा	८ <sup>a</sup>	शुचि	६ <sup>b</sup>
धातु	३ <sup>b</sup> , ५ <sup>a</sup>	प्रहि	११ <sup>b</sup>	रुधिर	१० <sup>a</sup>	शोभा	६ <sup>a</sup>
धाम	७ <sup>a</sup>	फणा	५ <sup>b</sup>	रोहित	५ <sup>a</sup>	इयामा	६ <sup>a</sup>
धावन	१० <sup>a</sup>	बन	११ <sup>b</sup>	ललाम	३ <sup>a</sup>	श्रम	११ <sup>b</sup>
धिष्ण्य	६ <sup>b</sup>	बल	५ <sup>a</sup>	लागल	१२ <sup>a</sup>	पट	११ <sup>b</sup>
धीर	१२ <sup>a</sup>	बलि	३ <sup>a</sup>	बंश	१० <sup>a</sup>	संधा	११ <sup>a</sup>
धुनि	७ <sup>a</sup>	बर्दि	१२ <sup>a</sup>	बज्र	१२ <sup>a</sup>	संवर	७ <sup>a</sup>
धेनु	४ <sup>a</sup>	बाल	६ <sup>a</sup>	बनू	७ <sup>b</sup>	सती	७ <sup>b</sup>
ध्वांक्ष	११ <sup>b</sup>	बालक	६ <sup>a</sup>	बर्ण	३ <sup>a</sup>	सत्र	४ <sup>b</sup>
नंदन	१० <sup>a</sup>	बा(वा)ह	२ <sup>a</sup>	बर्द्धन	८ <sup>a</sup>	समर	१२ <sup>a</sup>
नग	११ <sup>b</sup>	बीर	१२ <sup>a</sup>	बर्द्धनी	१० <sup>a</sup>	सारंग	५ <sup>b</sup>
नाड	११ <sup>b</sup>	बीर्य	९ <sup>b</sup>	बाज	९ <sup>a</sup>	सिंहु	११ <sup>a</sup>
निदाघ	८ <sup>a</sup>	भग	२ <sup>b</sup>	बाडव	११ <sup>a</sup>	साता	४ <sup>a</sup>
निस्लृश(?)	११ <sup>b</sup>	भपक	१० <sup>b</sup>	बारधी	९ <sup>b</sup>	सुधा	३ <sup>b</sup>
नृशंस	७ <sup>b</sup>	भानु	११ <sup>b</sup>	बारि	१० <sup>b</sup>	सुन्त	९ <sup>b</sup>
नेत्र		भाव	२ <sup>a</sup>	चिम्रह	७ <sup>b</sup>	सूत	१० <sup>b</sup>
पक्ष	७ <sup>a</sup>	भुवन	११ <sup>a</sup>	चितान	७ <sup>b</sup>	सूद	१० <sup>b</sup>
पत्र	१० <sup>a</sup>	भूत	५ <sup>b</sup>	चिपन	१० <sup>a</sup>	सूर	१२ <sup>a</sup>
पय	११ <sup>a</sup>	भूरि	१० <sup>b</sup>	चिप	९ <sup>b</sup>	संसथ	९ <sup>b</sup>
परायण	१० <sup>a</sup>	भूंग	११ <sup>b</sup>	बीर	१२ <sup>b</sup>	सोक(?)	११ <sup>a</sup>
परिघ	९ <sup>a</sup>	भूण	३ <sup>b</sup>	बृत्र	११ <sup>a</sup>	स्यंदङ	१० <sup>a</sup>
पल	२ <sup>b</sup> , ८ <sup>b</sup>	भैडल	३ <sup>a</sup>	बृप	४ <sup>a</sup>	स्त	७ <sup>a</sup>
पलास	४ <sup>b</sup>	मवा	९ <sup>b</sup>	बृषाकपी	११ <sup>a</sup>	हस	२ <sup>b</sup>
पात्र	१० <sup>a</sup>	मधु	२ <sup>a</sup>	बेला	३ <sup>b</sup>	हरिण	९ <sup>a</sup>
पिता	६ <sup>a</sup>	मनिक	९ <sup>a</sup>	ब्याल	४ <sup>a</sup> , ६ <sup>b</sup>	हरि	२ <sup>a</sup>
पिष्पल	१० <sup>b</sup>	मन्य(न्यु?)	९ <sup>a</sup>	बज	९ <sup>b</sup>	हार	२ <sup>a</sup>
पीलू	१२ <sup>a</sup>	मात्र	७ <sup>a</sup>	शंपा	९ <sup>a</sup>	हाव	११ <sup>b</sup>
पुंडरीक	५ <sup>b</sup>	मानस	१० <sup>a</sup>	शत्र	७ <sup>b</sup>	हेतु	१२ <sup>a</sup>

## SUMANOTTARĀ

Vasudeva S. Agrawala

In a Vārttika on Pāṇini's Sūtra अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 87) it is taught that the book-denoting suffix is dropped when the book named is an *Akhyāyikā* or Romance :—

( वा० ) अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे लुबाल्याधिकाभ्यो बहुलम् ।

भाष्य—अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यन्नाल्याधिकाभ्यो बहुलं लुग्वकृत्यः ।  
वासवदत्ता । सुमनोत्तरा । न च भवति भैमरथी

( Mahābhāshya, Kielhorn's Edition II. p. 313. )

Patañjali quotes *Vāsavadattā* and *Sumanottarā* as examples of romance works in which the suffix is dropped, and *Bhai-marathi* as an instance where the suffix is retained.

We are familiar with the legend of *Vāsavadattā*, daughter of the king of Avanti and the celebrated wife of Vastsarāja Udayana. That an independent work based on this story existed in the time of Patañjali we can affirm with some definiteness. For in illustrating another Vārttika quoted on Pāṇini IV. 2. 60 in which a reference is made to students devoted to the study of *Akhyāyikā* works, Patañjali cites the names of those who were engaged in the study of *Vāsavadattā* and also of *Sumanottarā* :—

( भाष्य वार्तिक )—आल्यानाल्याधिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च लुग्वकृत्यः ।  
आल्याधिका । वासवदत्तिकः । सौमनोत्तरिकः ।

These romance-masters were known to their contemporaries as वासवदत्तिक and सौमनोत्तरिक respectively. Kaiyatā explains वासवदत्तिक as follows :—

वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृताल्याधिका । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यन्नार्थे वृद्धान्तः ।  
तस्य लुबाल्याधिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लप् । ततोऽनेन ठक् ।

The *thak* suffix is added in the sense of तदधीते तदेद्, i.e. to denote those who were either students or adepts in a particular lore.

On the analogy of Kaiyatā's exposition we may say that सौमनोत्तरा was the name given to an आल्याधिका work which dealt with the story of सुमनोत्तरा.

The name सुमनोत्तरा is not known to us from any other source, nor is it explained in any grammatical commentary.

We do not even know whether सुमनोत्तरा was a single name like वासवदत्ता, or a compound word with the component parts सुमन and उत्तरा.

Fortunately the curtain is now raised for us on this mystery from the evidence in Buddhist literature. We gather from there that सुमनोत्तरा was a love-romance treating of the edifying episode of Sumana, the Setthi of Rājagṛīha, and his pious wife Uttarā. She was the daughter of Sumana's servitor Puṇṇa who was also made a *dhana-setti* in consequence of his having feasted Sāriputta with a devout heart. I am indebted to Dr. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* for the information that the story is related in the *Anguttara Commentary* (I. 240. II.), the *Vimānavattu Commentary* (pp. 631 ff.; Vimana 11f.) the *Dhammapada Commentary* (III. 3. 2, ff.) and the *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 380-1). This very interesting story as related by Dr. Malalasekera is as follows :—

"*Sumana*.—A *setthiputta* of Rajgaha. Puṇṇa (Puṇṇasiha) was his servant, but later, Puṇṇa, as the result of giving alms to Sāriputta became rich and Sumana married his daughter, Uttarā. Sumana was an unbeliever, and Uttarā wishing for leisure in which to practise her religion, obtained for him the services of the courteous Sirimā, paying her with the money obtained from her father.<sup>1</sup>

*Puṇṇa, Puṇṇaka*—A Setthi of Rajgaha,<sup>2</sup> father of Uttarā-Nandamātā. He had been a poor man and had worked for the setthi Sumana. One feast day, though his master offered him a holiday, he went to work in the field, because he was too poor to be able to enjoy himself. While he was in the field Sāriputta came to him, and Puṇṇa gave him a toothstick and water. Puṇṇa's wife, coming with her husband's food, met Sāriputta as he was coming away, and offered him the food she carried. She cooked fresh rice and took it to her husband, who was overjoyed to hear of her gift to Sāriputta. After the meal, he rested his head for a while on his wife's lap, and, on awaking, he found that the field he had ploughed had turned into gold. He reported the matter to the king, who sent carts to fetch the gold ; but as soon as his men touched it, saying that it was

1. DhA. iii, 104, 302 f.

2. DhA. i, 385; iii, 104.

for the king, it turned again into earth. The gold was, therefore, gathered in Puṇṇa's name, and the king conferred on him the rank of Bahudhanasetṭhi. He built a new house, and at the feast of inauguration, held a great almsgiving to the Buddha and the monks. When the Buddha thanked him, he and his wife and his daughter Uttarā became *Sotāpannās*.<sup>1</sup>

It is this Puṇṇa, described as *bhataka*, that is mentioned in the Milindapañha<sup>2</sup> among the seven people whose acts of devotion brought reward in this very life.

*Uttara Nandamātā*.—According to the Āṅguttara Commentary,<sup>3</sup> she was the daughter of Pūṇṇasiha (Puṇṇaka) (q. v.) a servitor of Sumana-setṭhi of Rājagaha. Later, Pūṇṇasiha was made *dhana-setṭhi* because of the immense wealth he gained by virtue of a meal given to Sāriputta. He held an alms-giving for the Buddha and his monks for seven days. On the seventh day, at the end of the Buddha's sermon of thanksgiving, Pūṇṇasiha, his wife and daughter, all became *Sotāpanna*.

When Sumana-setṭhi asked for Uttarā's hand for his son his request was refused because Sumana's family did not belong to the Buddha's faith. Puṇṇa sent word to Sumana that Uttarā was the Buddha's disciple and daily offered flowers to the Buddha, costing a *kahāpāna*. Later, however, when Sumana promised that Uttarā should be given flowers worth two *kahāpānas*, Puṇṇa agreed and Uttarā was married. After several successful attempts to obtain her husband's permission to keep the fast, as she had done in her parents' house, she got from her father fifteen thousand *kahāpānas* and with these she purchased the services of a prostitute named Sirimā, to look after her husband for a fortnight, and with his consent she entered on a fortnight's *uposatha*. On the last day of the fast, while Uttarā was busy preparing aims for the Buddha, her husband, walking along with Sirimā, saw her working hard and smiled, thinking what a fool she was not to enjoy her wealth. Uttarā, seeing him, smiled at the thought of his folly in not

1. MA. ii. 812; DhA. iii. 302 ff.; also Vv A. 62 ff., where Puṇṇaka's wife is called Uttarā. In the Anguttara commentary (i. 240 ff.) the man's name is given is Pūṇṇasiha, of which Puṇṇa is the shortened form.

2. pp. 115, 291; see also 1 A. ii. 912.

3. i. 240 ff.

making proper use of his wealth. Sirimā, thinking that husband and wife were smiling at each other, regardless of her presence, flew into a fury and, seizing a pot of boiling oil, threw it at Uttarā's head. But Uttarā was at that time full of compassion for Sirimā, and the oil, therefore, did not hurt her at all. Sirimā realising her grievous folly, begged forgiveness of Uttarā, who took her to the Buddha and related the story, asking that he should forgive her. The Buddha preached to Sirimā and she became a *Sotāpanna*.

The Vimānavatthu Commentary<sup>1</sup> and the Dhammapada Commentary<sup>2</sup> give the above story with several variations in detail. According to these versions, at the end of the Buddha's sermon to Sirimā, Uttarā became a *Sakadāgāmī* and her husband and father-in-law *Sotāpannas*.

After death Uttarā was born in Tāvavimśa in a *vimāna*. Moggallāna saw her in one of his visits to Tāvatimśa and, having learnt her story, repeated it to the Buddha.<sup>3</sup>

This beautiful story must have lent itself wonderfully well to be woven into an elaborate and masterly romance at the hands of skilful story-tellers. It possesses all those essential points in its contour which offer a grand and stirring view of human passions. Puṇya, the simple hearted who rises from poverty to opulence by the smiles of fortune, Uttarā his daughter who enshrines in her person those cardinal virtues which we are wont to associate with the Bodhisattvas of the Jātakas, Sumana, the rich mayor of Rajagrha who although an unbeliever behaves as a wordly husband, and the villainous Sirimā, are *dramatis personae* fit for an ideal romance or *Akhyāyikā* work. It appears that in the time of Patañjali this prose work was quite well-known, for he refers not only to the book *Sumanottarā* by name but also to those who were specially versed in this story. It may be presumed that the services of Saumanottarika scholars were in demand by royal patrons or the *Samāja* assemblies.

1. Pp. 631 ff.; Vv. 11 f.

2. iii, 302 ff.; see also iii, 104.

## THE RJULACHVI

N. A. Gore

*(Continued from Vol. VII, Nos. 1 & 2)*

प्रशिथिलकचबन्धां प्रस्वलन्तीं पतन्तीं  
प्रवलभयविहस्तां<sup>७२</sup> सृत्यवर्गेन्निरस्ताम् ।

<sup>७३</sup>मृदुमतिरनुपाधि प्राप्य यो मंक्षु दत्वा  
सृगपतिबलिमस्मै सृत्यवे मासुदस्थात्<sup>७४</sup> ॥ १६३ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा विरतां वालामावभाषे लवङ्गिका ।  
मैयाऽधुना स्मृतः श्रीमान् मकरन्दो ह्यसाचिति ॥ १६४ ॥

प्रियाभिधानश्रवणामृतेन  
प्रसोदमानां पुलकाचिताङ्गीम् ।  
परामृशन्तीं परिहासपूर्वं  
लवङ्गिका तां ललितं ललाप ॥ १६५ ॥

वयं तथा नाम यथात्थ किं वदा-  
म्ययं<sup>७५</sup> त्वकस्माद्विकलः कथान्तरे ।  
कदम्बगोलाङ्गिमाश्रितः कथं  
विशुद्धमुग्धः कुलकन्यकाजनः ॥ १६६ ॥

अनुप्रविष्टा किल बुद्धरक्षिता  
जगाद् तां जर्जरितत्राणं शनैः ।  
प्रकाशिताः स्मो वथमञ्जसाऽनया  
प्रहृष्टविश्रम्भकथाभिरास्महे ॥ १६७ ॥

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72. °विहस्ताङ्गयः.	73. स्टितिशुदुमतिः.	74. °मुदस्थाम् ।
उदस्थात् । ८ अन्तर्भवितप्यर्थः, उदतिष्ठिपद् इत्यर्थः ।		75. ममाधुनाः.
76. °म्यहं.		

प्रेरिता प्रियसख्येत्यं प्रेमविश्रम्भगर्भितम् ।  
मकरन्दार्पितां ताभ्यां स्मरार्ति स्वामवर्णयत् ॥ १६८ ॥

दयितावदनारविन्दवान्तं  
मकरन्दो मकरन्दमालिहानः<sup>७७</sup> ।  
मयुलेह इवोन्मदिष्णुरुच्चै-  
र्मधुरिम्णा न स वृस्तिमाससाद् ॥ १६९ ॥

अथ तामुभे शपथपूर्वमूर्च्छु-  
र्यदि दैवतस्तव समीपमेत्य सः ।  
तरसा ग्रहीष्यति करं स्मरातुरः  
प्रतिपत्तिरत्र<sup>७८</sup> तव का प्रकाशयताम् ॥ १७० ॥

निश्वस्य दीर्घमथ सा निश्चुतं जगाद्<sup>७९</sup>  
का वाऽहमस्य खलु तस्य कलेचरस्य ।  
तेनैव रुढगुणगौरवमात्मदेहं  
प्रत्यर्थं यत्रिरुपयोगमपि प्रतीष्टम् ॥ १७१ ॥

इति तद्वचनं निशमय्य मुदा  
परिरभ्य ननन्दतुरिन्दुमुखीम् ।  
स्मर वाचमिमामिति नीतिपरे  
हृष्टामपि निन्द्यतुरुक्तमुभे ॥ १७२ ॥

तां चिरायितमिति प्रलपन्तीं  
जापितः किमपि नाटितबोधः ।  
न्यस्य दूरमवकुष्ठनमाराद्  
अग्रहीन् करतले मकरन्दः ॥ १७३ ॥

मालर्तामनभिवीक्ष्य मानिनी  
माधवीव मलयानिलाहता ।  
साध्वसेन तरलत्रपावशा-  
न्मन्दहासकुमुमं व्यचीकसत् ॥ १७४ ॥

77. °मालिहानम्. 78. °र्यः. 79. जगाम.

गुरुजनपरिशङ्कातङ्कसङ्कोचिनीं तां  
वरगुणपरिणाहान्वर्णयन्त्यौ<sup>८०</sup> वचोभिः ।  
स्मर सखि गिरमुक्तामव्य चेति ब्रुवाणे  
निजमनसि वयस्ये स्थापयामासतुस्ते ॥ १७५ ॥

उद्ग्राहोत्सवसङ्कुलाऽस्त्रियलजनादुद्धान्तदौवारिकात्  
पश्चद्वारपथेन नन्दनगृहान्निर्गत्य कान्तां हरन् ।  
प्रागिन्दोरुदयात् तमोभरभिलत्कालेयधूपोच्चयां  
वीर्थीं प्राप विलासिपौरमदिरगोष्ठीभिरामोदिताम् ॥ १७६ ॥

अविरलतरदीपत्रासितध्वान्तमारा-<sup>८१</sup>  
दतिपटुपटहौघध्वानसंपूरिताशम् ।  
अनिभृतगति कन्यारत्नहर्तुः पुरस्ताद्  
अनिलनिभमनीकं रक्षिणामाविरासीत् ॥ १७७ ॥

मालतीवेषसंचलनं हरन्तं मद्यन्तिकाम् ।  
विदित्वा मकरन्दं ते जजल्पुः पुरक्षिणः ॥ १७८ ॥

मैथिलीमिव पुलस्त्यनन्दनो  
नन्दनस्य भगिनीं हरन्नसाँ ।  
नन्दयोरिव (?) नरेन्द्रमन्त्रिणोः  
संदधाति परमं पराभवम् ॥ १७९ ॥

असौ पदुर्मालतिवेषधारी<sup>८२</sup>  
प्रतारयन नन्दनमार्यबुद्धिम्<sup>८३</sup> ।  
महात्मनो भूरिवसोः समक्ष-  
महारयत् तामपि माधवेन ॥ १८० ॥  
घट्यतां घट्यतामेष चिलशतां भिट्यतामिति ।  
अभ्ययुज्ञत ते वीरं पञ्चास्यमिव कुञ्जगः ॥ १८१ ॥

80. परिणाहावर्ण०. 81. “त्रासिव०. 82. Both the forms, मालती and मालति are noted in the Dic. Here मालति is used for the usual मालती, obviously for the sake of metre. 83. प्रतापथ०.

चरितं चरितुं प्रियस्य सख्युः  
 कलहंसः प्रहितोऽथ माधवेन ।  
 महिलाः परिगृहा संकुलेऽस्मिन्  
 सहसा माधवसन्निधि निनाय ॥ १८२ ॥  
 मदयन्तिकां सहचरीद्वयान्वितां  
 पुरतो विलोक्य सहसैव मालती ।  
 अथ दिष्टिवृद्धिवचसाऽधिनोत् प्रियं  
 वकुलावलीविहितपरितोषिका ॥ १८३ ॥  
 अथ निजसुहृदो निशम्य वृत्तं  
 प्रियतमया प्रणयान्निवार्यमाणः ।  
 सरभसमभिधाव्य<sup>४</sup> तत्समीपं  
 न्यविशत दोर्बलधूतमार्गलोकः ॥ १८४ ॥  
 कलकलमुपकर्ण्य कर्णतोदं  
 किमिदमिति प्रतिहारमाशु प्रश्नवा ।  
 तदुद्दितमकरन्दकृत्वुतः  
 परिकुपितो बलमादिशब्देन्द्रः ॥ १८५ ॥  
 ततो विशद्चन्द्रिकाभरपटीरपङ्काङ्कितां  
 समुन्मिषिततारकाकुसुमकोरकालंकृताम् ।  
 दिद्वश्चुरिव<sup>५</sup> तद्रणं दिवमुपागतश्चन्द्रमाः  
 समृद्धनिजमण्डलः सपदि चन्द्रशालां नृपः ॥ १८६ ॥  
 ततः प्रवत्तते तयोरतिभयङ्करः सङ्करः  
 पुरात्तनसुनीन्दयोर्बदरिकामिवाध्युषोः<sup>६</sup> ।  
 विमुक्तविविधायुधक्षयविषण्डमभोऽद्वैः  
 समं बहुतर्बर्लैः समरकेलिकौतूहलैः ॥ १८७ ॥

84. “मभिधास्य”.

85. दिद्वश्चुरिधिके रणं.

85A. पुराकृत.

86. “मिवाध्युषोः”.

पदाधातेः कांश्चित् कतिचिद्दर्यवाहुहनैः  
 प्रकोष्ठांशीः कांश्चित् कतिचन घैरुल्लघटनैः ।  
 असङ्गादान्छ्वजैः कतिचन तदीयैः प्रहरणैः  
 भट्टमन्यान् मैन्यान् भयतरलतां निन्यतुरुमौ ॥ १८८ ॥  
 प्रहरणममुचन् प्रपेतुर्धरण्यां दिशो दुदुवुः  
 क्षतभवमवमन् विलेपुः सशोकं गुमूर्द्युश्चिरम् ।  
 शरणमुपययुस्तवास्मीति रेतुर्जहुर्जीवितं  
 प्रतिभट्टपुरुषा रुधा मोहिताभ्यासुभाभ्यां क्षताः ॥ १८९ ॥  
 अथ नरपतिज्योत्स्नाजालैरनगलनिर्गमै-  
 दिन इव<sup>८७</sup> च विस्पष्टं दृश्वा विचेष्टिमेतयोः ।  
 मुदितहृदयो<sup>८८</sup> वीरश्वाशी निवार्य वलान्युभी  
 निजसचिवयोरग्रे<sup>८९</sup> द्वाःस्थैः स्वसञ्चिधिमानयन् ॥ १९० ॥  
 सर्याचन्द्रमसाविव द्युतिभर्दस्त्राविवाकारतः<sup>९०</sup>  
 स्थित्या मेरुहिमालयाविव धिया दैत्यामरेज्याविव ।  
 दृश्वा तावुपजातविश्मयरसः शुक्लाऽमिजान्यं नतः  
 ग्रोन्व मन्त्रिवरौ वरौ मुचितौ लब्धौ भवद्भ्यामिति ॥ १९१ ॥  
 वैलक्ष्यात्तौ पुनरपि निजौ मन्त्रिणौ चाऽप्रसन्नौ  
 ज्ञात्वा वाक्यैः प्रणयसरसैर्भूयसा सान्त्वयित्वा ।  
 सत्कृत्यैतावपि गुणगणे दर्शयन् पक्षपातं  
 प्रायादन्तःपुरमथ च तौ जग्मतुः स्वं निकेतम् ॥ १९२ ॥  
 अग्रहीद् गुणमस्माकमपराधे महत्यपि ।  
 अहो सौजन्यसर्वस्वसंकेतसद्वन् नृपः ॥ १९३ ॥  
 इति क्षितीशं बहुमन्यमानो  
 जगाद् मित्रं पथि दैवरातिः ।  
 प्रियासमक्षं हरणप्रवृत्ति  
 श्रोत्यामि सख्या मदयन्तिकायाः ॥ १९४ ॥

87. इव विस्पष्टं. 88. मुदितहृदयवारः. 89. द्वारेस्यसञ्चिधि०.  
90. दसौरिका०.

कथयति त्वयि सस्मितमालती-  
 वलितलोलकटाश्चपराहतम्<sup>१</sup> ।  
 वदनपङ्कजमुङ्गसितत्रपा  
     स्तिमितद्विषि सखी नमयिष्यति ॥ १९५ ॥  
 इति मनोरथमुद्भतमुद्भवन्  
     न खलु यावदसौ गृहमाविग्रन् ।  
 समरतत्त्वनियुक्तजना क्षणं  
     किमपि तावदत्रास्थित मालती ॥ १९६ ॥  
 अन्तरेऽत्र विवरानुसारिणी  
     पूर्ववैरपरिहारकांक्षया ।  
 भैरवीव पुरतो मृगीदशः  
     प्रत्यदृश्यत कपालकुण्डला ॥ १९७ ॥  
 मम गुरुभिजन्मे माधवेन त्वदर्थं  
     तदहमपि तवामैस्तस्य<sup>२</sup> कुर्वे निवापम् ।  
 उपचितहठवैग साऽहमेकस्य हेतो-  
     रुभयकुलनिवद्धां गाढमुत्सादयामि ॥ १९८ ॥  
 त्वद्वत्सलः क तु तपस्विजनस्य हन्ता  
     कन्याविटः पतिरसौ परिग्रहतु त्वाम् ।  
 इयेनावपातचकिता नववर्तिकेव<sup>३</sup>  
     किं चेष्टसे ननु चिरान् कवलीकृतासि ॥ १९९ ॥  
 इति संतर्ज्य तां वालां वलादुक्षिण्य खेचरी ।  
 क्रन्दन्तीमार्यपुत्रेति श्रीपर्वतमुपानयन् ॥ २०० ॥  
 कवलयितुं ततः शशिमुखीं घृतशूलवरा  
     प्रकटितदंष्ट्रका शशिकलामिव राहुतनुः ।  
 प्रसभमियेष सा<sup>४</sup> तदवलोक्य रुरोद भृशं  
     भगवति मामवेति दुहिता वत भूरिवमोः ॥ २०१ ॥

91. वलाहकः 92. तदहमिति विनाश्वेस्तस्य 93. Vide जंगदूर<sup>५</sup>  
Com नववर्तिकेत्यपि पाठः 94. सा तामवलोक्य.

आकन्दनं भगवतीति मुहुर्मुहुस्तम्  
 कामंदकीति च निशम्य समीपसंस्था ।  
 सौदामिनी हृतमुपेत्य ददर्श वालां  
 बाष्पैः समं निपतितां वनदेवतानाम् ॥ २०२ ॥

निर्भर्त्य वत्सलतरा पिशिताशनां तां<sup>१५</sup>  
 दृष्ट्योद्वियेन कुचयोश्च पथः क्षरन्ती ।  
 आश्रास्य वाग्भिरधिरोप्य निजाङ्कयश्चां  
 स्वीयं निनाय भवनं श्रुतपूर्ववृत्ता ॥ २०३ ॥

अथाविवेशोपवनं स माधवः  
 म्फुराद्विरङ्गः परिस्मलम्पटैः ।  
 दिव्यक्षमाणस्त्वरितेन चेतसा  
 जयश्रियं मूर्तिमतीमिव प्रियाम् ॥ २०४ ॥

भुजेन वामेन समं परिस्फुरत  
 प्रकाशयत <sup>१६</sup>प्राणसमाप्तेयुषीम् ।  
 उपेयुषस्त्वय विहारदीर्घिका-  
 मदक्षिणं चक्षुरभूदक्षिणम् ॥ २०५ ॥

ततो गिरं मालति मालतीति  
 शुश्राव दूरान्मदयन्तिकायाः ।  
 लवज्ञिकायाश्च विषादभाजो-  
 रन्वेषयन्योरभितो वयस्याम् ॥ २०६ ॥

क नु मालती क नु कुलस्य भूषणं  
 क नु से प्रिया क नु मदीयजीवितम् ।  
 क नु मदिलोचनचकोरचन्द्रिका  
 क नु तद् गृहीतममृतं भवाम्बुधेः ॥ २०७ ॥

95. पिशिताशनानां.

96. प्राणसमानवीयसीम.

अनुभितमनिभित्तैश्चेतसा शंकितं प्राक्  
प्रकटमिव भवत्योरद्य वाचामशक्त्या ॥ २०८ ॥

इयसनमुपगतं मे निष्प्रतीकासमेतद्  
गलति न च कठोरं जीवितं हा हतोऽस्मि ॥ २०८ ॥

अयि सखे मकरन्द निरुप्यतां  
प्रियसखी तव कुत्र गता भवेत् ।  
भगवतीभवने यदि युज्यते  
न पुनरत्र गमिष्यति सैकिका ॥ २०९ ॥

इत्यं सखीभिरनुयायिभिराप्तवर्गे-  
रन्वेषयन्नुपवने भवने वने च ।  
नापद्यदुत्सुकमना दयितां यदाऽसौ  
संमूर्छितो सुवि तदा न्यपतन्निराशः ॥ २१० ॥

संज्ञामवाप्य मकरन्दमुखप्रयत्ना-  
दभ्युथितः पुनरवेक्ष्य जगत् स शून्यम् ।  
ब्रीहां विहाय विललाप तथा विलासी  
श्रुत्वा यथा दृषदपि द्रवतां प्रपेदे ॥ २११ ॥

यः पूर्वं स्फृहणीयतामुपगतो भुक्तः समं कान्तया  
तं देशं परिहृत्य हृन्नयनयोः सन्तापसन्तानदम् ।  
निर्विण्णो हृदये सुनिर्घृण इव त्यक्त्वा स्ववन्धून् बृहद्-  
द्रोणीशैलवनं सुपावनमगात् सख्या समं माधवः ॥ २१२ ॥

तत्रोन्मादवशां दशामुपगतस्तरयाः प्रवृत्तिं वने  
पूच्छंसत्र भृगान् खगान् विटपिनो भृज्ञान् भुज्ञानपि ।  
नष्टोऽयं परिहास इत्यपि वदन् कान्ते त्वमाप्ना मये-  
त्यालिङ्गन् दयितां मनोरथमयीं प्राणान् कथंचिद् दधौ ॥ २१३ ॥

आर्तो भृतिवसुनिशम्य तनयामत्यन्तमन्ते गता-  
 "मैर्थिष्यो द्रविणं विद्याय विपुलं क्षेत्रं तथा पात्रसान् ।  
 आलोलान् विषयानुरक्तिविरसानालोच्य शोद्यानिधान्  
 आनश्री नृपनन्दनावगणयन् प्रायादर्श्यस्थलीम् ॥ २१४ ॥  
 अन्तःशाल्यनिभान् अकल्यहृदयस्थक्ष्यन्तसूनात्मनो  
 निश्चिन्वन् विधिना च वक्षिपतने धर्मस्य निर्बाधताम् ।  
 संभेदे भृशपात्रने मधुमतीसिन्धोरयं भावुकं  
 ल्यातं प्राप सुवर्णविन्दुमवनौ वर्णेन्दुचूडामणिम् ॥ २१५ ॥  
 विपदमथ विदित्वा देवरातः स्तुषाया-  
 स्तुदुपाहितमवस्थादौस्थ्यमप्यात्मसूनोः ।  
 विरतविषयसङ्गः सोऽपि निश्चित्य मर्तु<sup>१००</sup>  
 पशुपतिमुपतस्थे भृतिवस्त्वात्रितं तम् ॥ २१६ ॥  
 लवज्जिकायाभिरनुप्रयाता  
 कामन्दकी कामितदेहमोक्षा ।  
 वनं यथौ वीक्ष्य सुहृत्कुलं त-  
 निरीक्षितं निष्करणेन धात्रा ॥ २१७ ॥  
 अथ सृगदशा नुन्नाऽसन्नान् प्रबोधायेतुं निजान्  
 प्रियमपि समानेतुं विद्यावलादपि जीवितम् ।  
 चिरपरिचितं चिह्नं संगृहै केसरमालिकां  
 समचरत सा व्योम्ना सौदामिनी लघुगामिनी ॥ २१८ ॥  
 पाथोदानां पथि परिचिते पावनैर्गन्धवाहै-  
 मन्दाकिन्याः पयसि लुठितैर्मन्दमासेव्यमाता ।  
 पद्मावत्याः परिसरमगान्माववस्थात्र वृत्तं  
 श्रुत्वा प्रायाद् वनभुवमसौ यत्र मित्रानुयातः ॥ २१९ ॥

99. अर्थित्वाद्र०. 100. नूर्ति.

दिवि स्थिताऽवैक्षत मूर्णितं तं  
 मर्तु च सृष्टं मकरन्दमात्मा ।  
 अस्भोभिराश्रासयद्ब्रिधैस्तं  
 न्यवर्तयत् तत्सुद्ददं च मृत्योः ॥ २२० ॥  
 अथ च वकुलमालां माधवाय प्रदाय  
 प्रियमपि विनिवेद्य ग्रेयसीवृत्तपर्म ।  
 गणनमुदपतन् सा विद्यया तं नयन्ती  
 रसमिव धरणिस्थं भानवीरशिममाला ॥ २२१ ॥  
 श्रीपर्वतं लघुतया गमितेन तेन  
 मंजीवनीषधिरवेक्ष्यत जीवितेशा ।  
 आवेगतस्तमवलोक्य पपात द्वारा  
 दालुत्य साऽपि हृदये हृदयेश्वरम् ॥ २२२ ॥  
 परस्परं तौ परिरभ्य दुःखिता-  
 वचिनितासादितदर्शनोत्सर्वा ।  
 विमुक्तकण्ठं चिरमशु वर्षता  
 विलीयमानविव शोकवहिना ॥ २२३ ॥  
 अथ तावनुनीय लोकवृत्ते-  
 शितिहासैश्च दृढं प्रसाद्य सिद्धा ।  
 निजसिद्धिवलेन पूजनीयौ  
 भृशमानर्च विभूषणांकुकार्यः ॥ २२४ ॥  
 सह तौ निजदेशमानयन्ती  
 गगनस्थैव ददर्श भृत्यदारैः ।  
 पितरावनयोः प्रवेष्टुकामौ  
 हुतमग्निं पुरतः सुवर्णविन्दोः ॥ २२५ ॥  
 प्राप्यत्वं तौ सपदि चीवरिणीसकाशं  
 सोदामिनी हुतमुपेत्य सुवर्णविन्दुम् ।  
 दिष्ट्यांजभिवर्ध्य सचिवी परिदीप्तमग्निं  
 ब्राह्मं क्षणेन निरवापयदान्तरं च ॥ २२६ ॥

शैलप्रपातान् पतितुं कृतोद्यमाः  
 पवित्रतोयामथ पाटलावतीम् ।  
 प्रत्याजिकाद्या दद्युदिवश्चयुतौ  
 चिंत्रांशशाङ्काविव तौ वधूवर्गौ ॥ २२७ ॥  
  
 मालतीमाधवौ दद्यता पुनर्जाताविव स्त्रियः ।  
 प्रत्याशश्चसुरविजन्यः प्रातःसन्ध्यारुणाविव ॥ २२८ ॥  
  
 उत्थाप्य पादपतितासुपगृहा गाढ-  
 माधाय मूर्त्रिं चिरसम्बजलाविलाक्षी ।  
 प्रत्याजिकाऽऽशिष्यमयुक्तं शतं समानां  
 जीवं त्वमिन्दुमुखि जीवय चात्मवन्धून् ॥ २२९ ॥  
  
 महिलासहितः समेत्य हर्षा-  
 न्मकरन्देन सुहृत् समावभाषे ।  
 क तु सा वत् योगिनी विनष्टा  
 कुलमभ्युद्धतमापदो यथेति ॥ २३० ॥  
  
 अस्मिन् क्षणे सकस्येणः  
 सचिववर्गौ देवरातभूरिवसु ।  
 सुतदुहितविरहविधुर्गौ  
 विशतोऽनलमिति वनेचरैः शुशुचे ॥ २३१ ॥  
  
 वनचरवचनं तद् वऋपातोपमेयं  
 सपदि निशमयन्तौ मालतीमाधवश्च ।  
 स्फुरितविष्पमोहा भूतले संपतन्तौ  
 पुनरपि च सखीभिर्धारितौ व्याकुलामिः ॥ २३२ ॥

102. मरवा°. Can it be for मधा°? But it would be unpoetic to use मधा in this connection, for, this lunar mansion contains five stars, whereas नित्रा contains one only. Cf. हिमनिर्मुक्तयोयोगे नित्राचन्द्रमसोग्निव-रघु० I. 46. 102A. अजिन्यः.

मम खलु वचसा तौ जीवितौ मन्त्रमुख्या-  
 विति गिरममृतीघां कालिकेवोद्दिरन्ती ।  
 दिवमनु दद्षे तैर्दीप्यमाना स्वभासा  
 विघुरितजनरक्षोद्योगिनी<sup>१०३</sup> योगिनी सा ॥ २३३ ॥  
 तत्प्रत्ययाद् विशुरितौ परिवोध्य वस्तौ  
 तद्वशेनेन तपसि प्रथतोत्सुका<sup>१०४</sup> सा ।  
 कामन्दकी समुपसृत्य तया बवन्दे  
 सौदामिनी नमति वः परिचारिकेति ॥ २३४ ॥  
 अथ तां मालती दृष्ट्वा वभाषे घटिताङ्गलिः ।  
 हर्षगद्वदया वाचा भोदयन्ती सखीजनम् ॥ २३५ ॥  
 कपालकुण्डलाकोपुर्जीतजनितापदः ।  
 वयं सर्वेऽनया कृच्छ्रादार्थयाऽभ्युदृता इति ॥ २३६ ॥  
 शुष्मत्परिचयस्नेहादार्थया रक्षिताऽस्म्यहम् ।  
 इति तद्वचसा शिष्यां लिङ्गिनी बह्मन्यत ॥ २३७ ॥  
 एहोहि भूरिजनजीवितदानयुण्य-  
 संभारधारिणि चिगदसि हन्त दृष्टा ।  
 दत्तप्रमोदमपि नन्दय मे शरीर-  
 मालिहृण्य मौहृदनिधे विरम प्रणामात् ॥ २३८ ॥  
 वन्या त्वमेव जगतः स्पृहणीयसिद्धि-  
 रेवंविधैविलसितैरतिबोधिसत्त्वैः ।  
 यस्याः पुरापरिचयप्रतिबद्धवीज-  
 मुद्भूतभूरिफलशालि विजृम्भते नः ॥ २३९ ॥  
 उक्त्वेति संभ्रमवती स्वयमुत्थिता ता-  
 मुत्थाप्य पादविनतामुपगूह्य गाढम् ।  
 आघाय मूर्धनि हठादुपवेद्य पार्थे  
 पप्रच्छ साधु कुशलं चिरकालदृष्टाम् ॥ २४० ॥

103. दक्षोद्योः. 104. तपसितोत्सुका सा.

अत्युदारमनिमित्तमदभूतं १०५  
 तद् विचिन्त्य सुकृतं तया कृतम् ।  
 प्राहुः स्म मकरन्दमाधवौ  
 तत्प्रसादपरिलव्धजीवितौ ॥ २४१ ॥

अपि चिन्तामणिश्चिन्तापरिश्रमवेक्षते ।  
 इदं त्वकृतमन्येन कृतमाश्र्यमार्यया ॥ २४२ ॥

लव्हङ्गिका तां मदयन्तिका च  
 प्रणेभूतः प्रार्थिततत्प्रसादे ।  
 आशीर्भिरभ्यन्त्य तपस्त्विनी ते  
 मान्यश्रियं माधवमित्युवाच ॥ २४३ ॥

अघोरघण्टः स कपालपाणि-  
 रायुष्मता यो निहतोऽपराद्धः ।  
 अन्तेवसन्त्या ननु तस्य वैरा-  
 दस्माकमुच्चैर्जनितेयमापत् ॥ २४४ ॥

आर्यस्य कुण्डनपतेस्तव च प्रसोतु-  
 रग्ने च भूरिवसुनन्दनयोः करे मे ।  
 आयुष्मतः प्रदितमद्य कृतप्रसादं  
 पद्मावतीपरिवृद्धेन विलिख्य पत्रम् ॥ २४५ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा दर्शितं पत्रं योगिन्या समयज्ञया ।  
 गृहीत्वाऽवाचयत् प्रीत्या मकरन्दो महामतिः ॥ २४६ ॥

105. \*भूतं, but this goes against the metre of the Stanza.

106. This stz. is very corrupt in the transcript, where it reads as follows—

लव्हङ्गिका तां मदयन्तिकापणे  
 .....यत्प्रार्थिततत्प्रसादे ।  
 आशीर्भिरभ्यन्त्य तपस्त्विनी ते  
 मान्यश्रियं माधवमित्युवाच ॥

श्लाघ्यानां गुणिनां धुरि स्थितवति श्रेष्ठान्ववाये त्वयि  
प्रत्यस्तव्यसने०७ महीयसि परं प्रीतोऽस्मि जामातरि ।  
तेनेयं मदयन्तिकाऽपि भवतः प्रीत्यै तव प्रेयसे  
मित्राय प्रथमानुरागघटिताऽप्यस्माभिरुत्सृज्यते ॥ २४७ ॥

इति वाचिके स्फुटमनेन वाचिते  
सकलस्य माधवजनस्य मानसम् ।  
प्रससाद शङ्खतविरोधविच्छ्युते-  
मधुवैरिनान्नि वचसेव कीर्तिते ॥ २४८ ॥

अवलोकिता तदनु बुद्धरक्षिता  
कलहंसकश्च ननृतुः प्रमोदतः ।  
मदयन्तिकादिभिरथाऽनुसन्धये  
मधुवैरिणः प्रकरणस्य चित्रता ॥ २४९ ॥

सौदामिनी च तामूचे तदिदं रामणीयकम् ।  
तस्मिन् प्रकरणे गूढे चमत्कारवती यतः ॥ २५० ॥

अमात्ययोः प्रीतियुजोर्मदग्रे  
समग्रविद्याग्रहणावसाने ।  
अपत्यसंबन्धविधिप्रतिज्ञा  
पुरातनी सम्प्रति पूरितेयम् ॥ २५१ ॥

माधवोऽथ निजगाद लिङ्गिनीं  
श्रोतुमस्वं कुतुकं विजृम्भते ।  
वस्तुवृत्तमिदमन्यथा यतः  
प्रोक्तमेतदपि चाऽन्यथाऽनया ॥ २५२ ॥

गुरुषु गुरुकुलेषु श्रावकावस्थया द्वौ  
प्रणयविवशचित्तौ तौ यदास्तां तदानीम् ।  
अजनि सचिवयोः स्वापत्यसंबन्धसंविद्  
भवति परमाभिज्ञा तत्र सौदामिनीयम् ॥ २५३ ॥

पौरिका<sup>१०४</sup>.....परिण  
यमाशीर्भिरतिसंहितौ युवाम् । (?)  
तत् तु संवरणमन्यथा भवे-

ब्रन्दनस्य नृपतेष्व विक्रिया ॥ २५४ ॥

इति जिनव्रतिनीवचनेन ते  
स्फुग्गितविस्मयद्वासलसन्मुख्याः ।  
अतिगभीरमवाधितमद्भुतं

मतिमतां चरितं बहु मेनिरे ॥ २५५ ॥

अथ सर्वतः कृतार्थं माधवमानन्दसागरे मग्नम् ।  
सफलनिजयत्नमुदिता जगाद् कामन्दकी वचनम् ॥ २५६ ॥  
यत्प्रागेव मनोरथैर्वृतमभूत् कल्याणमायुष्मतो-

स्तत्पुण्यर्मदुपक्रमैश्च फलितं क्लेशोऽपि मन्दिष्ठययोः ।

निष्णातश्च समागमोऽपि विहितस्त्वप्रेयसः कान्तया  
संग्रीतौ नृपनन्दनौ यदपरं प्रेयस्तदप्युच्यताम् ॥ २५७ ॥

इत्यूचुषीं किञ्चिदितः प्रियं स्या-  
दित्यादिकैस्तामभिनन्द<sup>१०५</sup> वाक्यैः ।

तथा समेतोऽनुगतः सखीभिः

पुरं प्रतस्थे ससुहृत्सवन्युः ॥ २५८ ॥

निवद्धकेतुं निनदन्यदङ्गां

पौराङ्गनाभिः परिवृष्टपुण्याम् ।

पद्मावतीमेत्य समृद्धकामौ

वधूसमेतश्च गुरु ववन्दे ॥ २५९ ॥

नन्दनेन मकरन्दवन्युना

भूभुताऽपि च गुणाभिनन्दना ।

मानितः श्वशुरयोर्महोत्सवं

मासमावहत मालतीपतिः ॥ २६० ॥

108. The first two lines are defective; they read thus:—

पौरिका.....परिण—

यमाशीर्भिरतिसंहितौ युवाम् ।

109. दि.....यैः.

माधवोऽथ मकरन्दसंयुतो  
मालती च मदयन्तिकान्विता ।  
प्राय्य कुण्डिनमश्वण्डितोत्सवं  
प्रश्रयेण पितरौ प्रणेमतुः ॥ २६१ ॥

बधूसहायस्य वरस्य मङ्गले  
पुरप्रवेशे पुरुहृततेजसः ।  
प्रसन्नतां मन्त्रिवरे प्रकाशयन्  
विदर्भराजो विदधे महोत्सवम् ॥ २६२ ॥

अभिमतधनराशिप्राप्तिसंजाततोऽय-  
रवनिसुरसमूहैराशिषा वर्ध्यमानः ।  
अविरलमनुतिष्ठन् पञ्चयज्ञान् स्वगेहे  
सममरमत दौरैः प्रीणयन् वन्धुवर्गम् ॥ २६३ ॥

पश्चावर्तीं कुण्डिनतः कदाचित्  
परापतन् पश्चपुरीं कदाचित् ।  
नित्यं<sup>१०</sup> मुख्यानां सह धर्मपत्न्या  
कोटि॒ परामन्वयन् कुमारः ॥ २६४ ॥

प्रकटितमिति पद्मैरञ्जसा वालिशानां  
सुकुटिलमितिवृत्तं मालतीमाधवास्यम् ।  
दिशतु सहदयेभ्यो दीर्घमानन्दमुद्रां  
कृतिरियमृजुलब्धी पूर्णसारस्वतस्य ॥ २६५ ॥

॥ इति क्रज्जुलब्धी समाप्ता ॥

## A LEGEND OF POLITICAL WISDOM IN THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMĀNA (I-v-4-6-11)

H. R. Karnik

{ For this paper I am much indebted to my *guru*  
Prof. H. D. Velankar, H. R. K.)

The legends in the Brāhmaṇas may be classified under different headings. Many of them are symbolical narratives—pure and simple inventions from the hieratic brains either to satisfy the immediate exigencies of the sacrifice or to make it incumbent upon the sacrificing agency to adopt a specific procedure in the performance of the sacrifice and never an alternative one or to explain fantastically and crudely the formation of a word or the significance of the holy *mantra* to be employed in the sacrifice. Some legends, again, are historical or popular, connected that they are with the historical or the then public personalities. A few of them may be said to be 'philosophical' legends because they present the views of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas on the 'first cause' of things and other kindred matters while still others are 'Moral Narratives' since they definitely have a didactic import. I have discussed these 'Moral Tales' in my thesis 'The Morals in the Brāhmaṇas'. In one of the chapters of this Thesis, I have discussed legends that convey a lesson of worldly and political wisdom. Such tales certainly establish the theory that the genealogy of narratives that we find in the later narrative works such as the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa etc. may be taken back to the days of the Brāhmaṇas and that India is the 'Home Land' of such tales. In the field of politics, the legends of political wisdom in the Brāhmaṇas tell us, diplomacy of one kind or other was employed by the Gods collectively or individually to defeat their rivals and thus to satisfy their immediate end. In this short paper I refer to one more legend in which the Gods over-reached their foes viz. the Asuras through a diplomatic fore-sight.

"The Gods and the Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, contended for supremacy. They could not conquer one another by an open fight with clubs and bows. As the point

at issue was thus undecided, the Asuras thought of winning their rivals in a word-contest. They proposed this to the Gods. The covenant willingly signed by them was that that party which would fail to follow the word pronounced by its rival with its corresponding feminine form and which would, therefore, be unable to secure a pair, shall be considered as having been vanquished by its rival and shall forfeit all its possessions in favour of the victor. This being agreed upon, the Gods implored Indra, their leader, to initiate the word-fight. Indra said 'eko mama' i.e. 'ekah putrah mama astu.' The spokesman of the Asuras followed this speech of Indra by 'ekā asmākam' i.e. 'ekā putrī asmākam astu'. Now *eka* and *ekā* form a *mithuna*. This was, in turn, followed by *dvaū*, *trayah* and *cavārah* of *Indra* and *dve*, *tisrah* and *catasrah* of the Asuras. So far there was a tie between the disputants for *dvaū* and *dve*, *trayah*, and *tisrah*, and *cavārah* and *catasrah* form pairs but when Indra said 'pañca mama' i.e. 'pañca putrāh mama santu', the Asuras were unable to follow this speech of Indra with the feminine form for there is no corresponding feminine form for *pañca*, the masculine and the feminine of this numeral being the same. As the Asuras could not secure a pair here, they found to their complete dismay that they had been vanquished by their rivals in the word-contest and had, therefore, to cede all their possessions to them in view of the covenant they had signed with them."

The legend is narrated to emphasise the purpose and the significance of the *anumantranas* which are the 'after-calls' or supplementary prayers. These are pronounced immediately after the oblation has been offered into the fire at the end of the *prayājā*. Because the gods vanquished the Asuras, their foes, in the word-combat, the sacrificer should utter 'eko mame' ty ekā tasya yam aham dvesmi<sup>1</sup> etc. at the end of the first *prayājā* immediately after the oblation has been offered into the fire. What the sacrificer means by this *anumantrāṇa* or supplementary prayer is 'ekah putrah me astu ; ekā putrī me śatrah syāt. Thereby he means misfortune for his enemy, for

1. If the sacrificer does not hate anybody he should say 'Yo asmān dveshi yam ca vayam dvishmah'.

a daughter is regarded as a source of misery for the parents as she is an object of their constant care and deep anxiety.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason the *Yajamāna* should say ‘*dve, tisrah, catasrah tasya yo’ asmān dvesti* etc. at the end of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th *prayājā* respectively. But, at the end of the 5th *prayājā* he should simply say ‘*pañca mama na tasya kiñcana yo asmān dvesti*’ etc. By pronouncing the particular *anumantrāṇa* at the end of each *prayājā* the sacrificer vanquishes his foe and gains all his possessions as the Gods did of the Asuras.

When one dwells upon this application of the legend to the immediate sacrificial exigency one cannot help passing the judgment upon it that it is fantastic and symbolical. But, the emphasis of the legend, in my opinion, seems to lie elsewhere and it is in the foresight of the Gods and the use of diplomacy by them which resulted in the complete overthrow of their foes viz. The Asuras. It should be remembered that the suggestion of a word-combat to decide what the two rival parties were contending for, came from the Asuras as the Mādhyandina-version of the legend clearly points out. The letter and spirit of the agreement, which the Gods entered into with the Asuras, at once indicated to the far-sighted and tactful Gods what would be the nature of the proposed ‘*vāg-yuddha*’ as also who would be successful in it. Hence, no sooner did the suggestion come from their rivals than the Gods agreed to it and without waiting even for a moment, they called upon Indra,<sup>2</sup> their leader and spokesman, to initiate the fight, remembering that the party which will initiate the contest will become successful in it and will thus gain possession of the rivals’ booty and property. Since it was the Asuras who proposed the alternative course to come to a speedy decision, one expects that the Asuras should have been given the chance of the initial round in the contest. If the Asuras had been far-sighted and thorough politicians they would have certainly demanded this privilege and no one – not even the Gods – could have refused them the right of having the first bout in the contest. The Gods

1. “*Putryāḥ rakṣana - pradānādū bahutara - duḥkha-sambhavāt*” — Sāyaṇa.

2. There is no reference to Indra at all in the Tāṇḍya and the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa-versions of the legend.

knew that their opponents were poor diplomats and were short-sighted. Yet they were afraid that *per chance* wisdom may dawn upon their short-sighted rivals and therefore, without giving them a chance to see the matter in its true perspective, they at once exclaimed, "very well" and asked Indra to open the contest on their behalf.<sup>1</sup> The Asuras lost to the Gods because of the lack of a politician's foresight and diplomacy. If they had shown these requisites of a politician the result of the word-combat would certainly have been disastrous, not for them, but for their rivals viz. the Gods.

Incidentally the legend speaks of one of the social prejudices of the Vedic Age. The birth of a son was hailed with great delight and that of a daughter was regarded as bringing in misery and sorrow in its wake. Sāyana correctly gives the reasons for such a prejudice against the daughter.<sup>2</sup> It is in view of this social prejudice that the sacrificer was asked to wish for his foe only daughters, and only sons for himself. Curiously enough this prejudice against the daughter has servived to this day in the Hindu-Society. The Tāṇḍya and the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa-versions of the legend, however, do not allude to the *motif* of the son and the daughter. The former speaks of the *vāco mithunam* in *eka* and *ekā*, *dvau* and *dve* etc. while the latter, in addition to this, identifies *eka* with *manas*, *ekā* with *vāk*, *dvi* (masc.) with *prāṇa* and *apāna*, *dvi* (fem.) with *aḥc-rātre*, *tri* (masc.) with the three worlds, *tri* (fem.) with the three Lores, *catur* (masc.) with the quadrupeds, *catur* (fem.) with the four quarters<sup>3</sup> and *pañca* with the *Rtus*.<sup>4</sup> Here, the Gods, with what they uttered as the means, gained, in turn, all that the Asuras signified by their speech.<sup>5</sup> All the versions of the legend, however, agree as regards the end of the story. The word-contest, according to all them, ends in the rout of the Asuras by the Gods.

1. See sections 5 and 6 of the text. In the JB. version of the legend (see sections 4-6 of the text) the Asuras, indeed, make fool of themselves by rejecting the offer of the Gods to speak first. This clearly proves that the Asuras were *simpletons*.

2. See foot-note 2 P. 2 above.

4. See sections 19-22 *ibid.*

3. See sections 7-18 of the text.

5. See sections 7-18 of the Text.

## TEXT

देवाश्व वा असुराश्वोभये प्राजापत्याः पस्पृष्ठिरे ॥ १ ॥ ते दण्डैर्धनुर्भिं व्यजयन्त ॥ २ ॥ ते हाविजयमाना ऊचुर्हन्त वाच्येव ब्रह्मन् विजिगीधामहै ॥ ३ ॥ स यो नो वाचं व्याघ्रतां मिथुनेन नानुनिक्रामात्स सर्वं पराजयाताऽवयथ सर्वमितरै जयानिति ॥ ४ ॥ तथेति देवा अब्रुवन् ॥ ५ ॥ ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्याहरेति ॥ ६ ॥ स इन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् एको ममेति ॥ ७ ॥ अथास्माकमेततीतरेऽब्रुवन् ॥ ८ ॥ तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्, मिथुनं ह्येकश्चैका च ॥ ९ ॥ द्वौ ममेतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् ॥ १० ॥ अथास्माकं द्रेऽइतीतरेऽब्रुवन् ॥ ११ ॥ तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्, मिथुनं हि द्वौ च द्वे च ॥ १२ ॥ त्रयो ममेतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् ॥ १३ ॥ अथास्माकं तिस इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् ॥ १४ ॥ तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्, मिथुनं हि त्रयश्च तिसश्च ॥ १५ ॥ चत्वारो ममेतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् ॥ १६ ॥ अथास्माकं चतस्त इतीतरेऽब्रुवन् ॥ १७ ॥ तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाऽविन्दन्, मिथुनं हि चत्वारश्च चतसश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पञ्च ममेतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत् ॥ १९ ॥ तत इतरे मिथुनं नाविन्दन् ॥ २० ॥ नो ह्यत ऊर्ध्वं मिथुनमस्ति, पञ्च पञ्चेति ह्यैवैतदुभयं भवति ॥ २१ ॥ ततोऽसुराः सर्वं पराजयन्त, सर्वस्मादेवाऽसुरानजयन्, सर्वस्मात्सप्तलानसुरान्निरभजन् ॥ २२ ॥

श. ब्रा. ( माध्यनिदन ) १-५-४-६-११

(अ) अथ देवाश्व वा असु०.....०त्या अस्पर्धन्त ॥ १ ॥ ते न व्यजयन्त दण्डैर्धनुर्भिः ॥ २ ॥ ते होचुरविजयमाना इन्त वाच्येव ब्रह्मणि वि०...महा इति ॥ ३ ॥ .....०निक्रामासु नः सर्वं पराजयातै सर्व०...॥ ४ ॥ ते ह देवा इन्द्रमूचुर्व्याहरेति ॥ ५ ॥ स होवाचैको... ॥ ७ ॥ .....०मेकत्यसुराः ॥ ८ ॥ ...०नमविन्दन्,...॥ ९ ॥ .....०ति होवाचेन्द्रः ॥ १० ॥ .....द्वे इत्यसुराः ॥ ११ ॥ तन्मिथुनमविन्दन्,... ॥ १२ ॥ .....०ति होवाचेन्द्रः ॥ १३ ॥ .....तिस इत्यसुराः ॥ १४ ॥ तन्मिथुनमविन्दन्,... ॥ १५ ॥ .....०ति होवाचेन्द्रः ॥ १६ ॥ ..... चतस्त इत्यसुराः ॥ १७ ॥ तन्मिथुनमविन्दन्,... ॥ १८ ॥ .....०ति होवाचेन्द्रः ॥ १९ ॥ त इतरे न मिथुनमविन्दन् ॥ २० ॥ न ह्यत ऊर्ध्वं वाचो मि०.....०स्ति पञ्च पञ्चेत्येव सर्वं पराजयन्त, सर्वं देवा अजयन्, सर्वस्मादेनान्निरभजन् ॥ २१-२२ ॥                    श. ब्रा. ( काण्ड ) २-५-२-६-११

(अ) .....°सुराश्रासपर्वन्त ॥ १ ॥ ते न व्यजयन्त ॥ २ ॥ ते (५)  
 ब्रुवन् - वाचो मिथुनेन विजयामहै, यतरे नो वाचो मिथुनव्रपतिविन्दाॅ  
 स्ते पराभवानिति ॥ ३-४ ॥ ते देवा एक इत्यब्रुवन्नेकेत्यसुरा वाचो  
 मिथुनं प्रत्यविन्दन् ॥ ७-९ ॥ द्वाविति देवा अब्रुवन्, द्वे इत्यसुरा  
 वाचो मिथुनं प्रत्यविन्दन् ॥ १०-१२ ॥ त्रय इति देवा अब्रुवन्,  
 तिस्त्र इत्यसुरा वाचो मिथुनं प्रत्यविन्दन् ॥ १३-१५ ॥ चत्वार इति  
 देवा अब्रुवन्, चतुर्ती इत्यसुरा वाचो मिथुनं प्रत्यविन्दन् ॥ १६-१८ ॥  
 पञ्चेति देवा अब्रुवन्, नासुरा अविन्दन् ॥ १९-२० ॥ ततो देवा  
 अभवन् परासुराः ॥ २२ ॥ ताण्डथमहात्राहण २१-१३-२.

(इ) देवासुरा अस्पर्वन्त ॥ १ ॥ ते नैव दण्डैनैषुभिर्व्यजयन्त ॥ २ ॥  
 तेऽब्रुवन् — न वै दण्डैर्नैषुभिर्व्यजयामहे, वाच्येव वाव नो ब्रह्मन्  
 विजयोऽस्त्विति ॥ ३ ॥ त ऐक्षत्वं — यतरे नो यतरान् पूर्वैऽभिन्याह-  
 रिष्यन्ति ते संज्ञेष्यन्त इति, ते देवा असुरानब्रुवन् — यूयं पूर्वे त्रुष्ट्यम्,  
 यूयमिदा इत्यसुराः ॥ ४-६ ॥ ततो देवा एतद्वाचो मिथुनमपश्यन्,  
 एकोऽस्माकमिति देवा अब्रुवतैकास्माकमित्यसुराः; मन एव देवा अब्रुवत,  
 वाचमसुराः; ते देवा मनसैव वाचमसुराणामबृज्ञतः; तस्माद्यन्मनसाधि-  
 गच्छति तद्वाचा वदति ॥ ७-९ ॥ द्वावस्माकमिति देवा अब्रुवत, द्वैऽ-  
 स्माकमित्यसुराः; प्राणापानावेव देवा अब्रुवताहोरात्रे असुराः; ते देवा  
 प्राणापानाभ्यामेवाहोरात्रे असुराणामबृज्ञतः; तस्माज्जोज्जीवन् बहून्यहोरा-  
 त्रायन्वयति ॥ १०-१२ ॥ त्रयोऽस्माकमिति देवा अब्रुवत, तिस्त्रोऽ-  
 स्माकमित्यसुराः; इमानेव श्रीलोकान् देवा अब्रुवत, तिस्त्रो विद्या  
 असुराः; ते देवा एमिरेव लोकैस्त्वा॒ विद्या असुराणामबृज्ञतः; तस्मादेता  
 विद्या एव्येव लोकेषु प्रोच्यन्ते ॥ १३-१५ ॥ चत्वारोऽस्माकमिति देवा  
 अब्रुवत, चतुर्तोऽस्माकमित्यसुराः; चतुष्पाद एव पश्यत् देवा अब्रुवत,  
 चतुर्तो दिशोऽसुराः; ते देवाश्चतुष्पाद्विरेव पशुभिश्चत्वा॒ दिशोऽसुराणा-  
 मबृज्ञतः; तस्माद्यां कांचन दिशं पशुमानयति सर्वामेव जितां क्लृतां  
 प्रतिश्चित्तामन्वेति ॥ १६-१८ ॥ पञ्चास्माकमिति देवा क्षतैनवाब्रुवता-  
 यासुरा न प्राविन्दन् न हि पञ्चि (ञ्ची ?) किञ्चनास्ति, तेऽसुरा  
 आरभमविन्दन्तः; पञ्च पञ्चेत्येव वदन्तः पराजयन्त; ततो वै देवा  
 अभवन् परासुराः; मवत्यात्मना परास्य द्विष्ठन् भ्रातुर्ब्यो, भवति य एवं  
 वेद ॥ १९-२२ ॥ जै. ब्रा. २-२९१-२९२.

### Translation and Notes

The Gods and the Asuras, both sons of Prajāpati, contended for supremacy<sup>1</sup> (1). Neither with staves nor with arrows<sup>2</sup> they could conquer (one another).<sup>3</sup> (2). They,<sup>4</sup> unable to score victory (over the other party) deliberated (among themselves), "Well then! Let us seek to conquer in speech, in *brahman*<sup>5</sup> (sacred prayer, i.e. by speech, the Holy Prayer),"<sup>6</sup> (3). He

1. Such rivalry between these two sets of the *Prajas* of *Prajāpati*, the creator, is almost proverbial in the body of the Brāhmaṇa Literature. It may signify the struggle between two ideologies or cultures or moral forces antithetical to each other.

2. This gives us an idea about the weapons that were used on the battle-field by the fighting forces in the Vedic period. It appears from this passage that in this period the science of war-fare had not progressed beyond the art of wielding the club and discharging arrows from the bow, though occasionally we come across references to other weapons of fighting in the Vedic Literature.

3. Neither of the contending parties could conquer its rival by these weapons of war-fare because neither of them was superior to the other in force or equipment. "*hanana-sadhanaiḥ vijayam na alabhanta sāmarthyasya samānāvā*"—Sāyana.

4. To whom does *te* refer? Eggeling believes that the pronoun refers to the Asuras. It was the Asuras who thought of finally deciding the point at issue by a word-combat, when their martial strength proved to be of no avail and suggested this course to their rivals viz. the Gods. In this Eggeling is supported by section 5. From the corresponding sections of the Kāṇva-version of the legend it appears as if the proposal was mutually agreed upon by the rivals. These sections do not specify the party which made the proposal first. Assuming that the suggestion of resorting to a word-combat came from the Asuras, it must be remarked that the Asuras were, indeed, poor diplomats. For this see remarks *ante*.

5. The locative has to be taken in the sense of the instrumental. The expressions 'vācī' and 'brahman' are in apposition to each other. Cf. Caland, Das J. B., P. 199. The parties, as Sāyana remarks were fighting for the possession of the Holy Writ, the speech. "*Vāg rupe eva mantre sivadamānāḥ jetum icchāmahi iti*"—Sāyana. Considering the supreme importance attached to *brahman*, the Prayer, in this Age, it is not at all surprising to find that he who gets the possession of the 'Holy Prayer' will not only defeat his rival in fight but will also deprive him of all his possessions whether earthly or ethereal.

6. The suggestion of a word-combat, after blows had proved to be unavailing, seems to be rather astonishing. The principle involved here is opposed to that in '*argumentum ad baculum*'. Our experience teaches us that the disputants come to blows after all arguments to reach a conclusion

who would not follow our pronounced speech by a pair, would lose all and then the others would gain all".<sup>1</sup> (4). The Gods said, "Let it be so." (5). The Gods said to Indra,<sup>2</sup> "Dost thou speak." (6). Indra said, "Let one<sup>3</sup> (son) be mine." (7). The others (Asuras) said, "Then, one (daughter)<sup>4</sup> would be ours." (8). Thus, they found a pair for *eka* and *ekā* form a pair.(9). "Let three (sons)<sup>5</sup> be mine" said Indra (10). "Then two (daughters)<sup>6</sup> would be ours," said the others (The Asuras). (11). Thereby they gained also a pair for *dva* and *dve* form a pair.(12). "Let three (sons)<sup>7</sup> be mine." said Indra. (13). "Then three (daughters)<sup>8</sup> would be ours" said the others (The Asuras) (14). Thereby also they obtained a pair for *trayaḥ* and *tisrah* form a pair.(15). "Let four (sons)<sup>9</sup> be mine." said Indra. (16). "Then ours would be four (daughters)."<sup>10</sup> said the others (The Asuras). (17). Thus also they found a pair for *caturārah* and *catasrah* from a pair. (18). "Let five (sons) be mine" said Indra. (19). Then the others could not secure a pair. (20); for thereafter (i.e. after the numeral 'four') there is no pair; *pañca*, *pañca* is (the form) for both (the masculine and the feminine). (21). Then the Asuras lost everything; the gods conquered the Asuras in all and deprived the Asuras, the foes, of all. (22).

S. B. R. (Mādhyan.) I-v-iv-6-11.

have failed. '*śeṣam kopena pūrayati*' is what is mostly true. But here we find that this has been falsified. The parties resort to argument when even their telling blows failed to give them a decisive result.

1. The *sanketa* that the Gods and the Asuras made signifies that the masculine form of a word uttered by one party through its spokesman, should be followed by the other with its corresponding feminine form. Thus, a pair could be secured. Much importance was attached to *mithuna* in this period. All activities were constantly directed towards the acquisition of a '*mithuna*'.

2. Indra was chosen by the Gods as their spokesman because he was their leader and hence the best of them.

3. We have to supply '*putrah*' after *eka* in this clause and in the corresponding nom. form in sections 10, 13 and 16 after *dva*, *trayaḥ* and *caturārah* respectively. Similarly supply *putri* after *ekā* in section 8 and its corresponding nom. form after *dve*, *tisrah*, *catasrah* in sections 11, 14 and 17 respectively. *ekāḥ* and *ekā*, *dva* and *dve*, *trayaḥ* and *tisrah*, and *caturārah* and *catasrah* form a *mithuna*. But the masculine and the feminine form of *pañca* being the same, a *mithuna* could not be secured by the Asuras and then they lost everything to the Devas.

(i)<sup>1</sup>

"The Gods and the Asuras contended for supremacy. (1). Neither with clubs nor with arrows they could gain victory conclusively. (2). They said, "Neither with clubs nor with arrows do we become victorious. Let our victory be in speech, in Brahman (the Holy Prayer) alone." (3). They deliberated, "whoever of us will first over-power the others by speech will conquer". The Gods said to the Asuras, "You, speak first," the Asuras (said to the Gods), "You, indeed (speak first)." (4-6). Then the Gods beheld this pair of words. "Let one (masc.) be ours," so said the Gods : "one (fem.) ours," thus the Asuras. The Gods thereby, meant the 'mind' only, the Asuras the 'speech'. Thus the Gods took possession of the speech of the Asuras by 'mind'. Therefore whatever one knows with the mind he speaks with the speech<sup>3</sup> (7-9). "Let two (masc.) be ours", so said the Gods : "Two (fem.) ours", the Asuras. Thereby the Gods meant *Prāṇa* and *Apāṇa*, only (Exhalation and Inhalation), the Asuras the 'Day' and the 'Night'. Thus, by '*Prāṇa*' and '*Apāṇa*', only, the Gods took possession of the Asuras' 'Day and Night'. Therefore, he who lives for a long time, passes<sup>4</sup> many days and nights (10-12). "Let three (masc.) be ours." so said the Gods : "Three (fem.) ours", the Asuras. Thereby the Gods meant these three worlds only ; the Asuras the three-fold Lore.<sup>5</sup> Thus the Gods conquered the three Lores of the Asuras by means of these three worlds only. Therefore are the three Lores proclaimed (preached) in these three worlds alone (13-15). "Let four (masc.) be ours." so said the Gods. "Four (fem.) ours", the Asuras. The Gods, thereby,

1. In translating this version of the legend I have mostly followed Caland, Das Jaiminiya Brähmaṇa in Auswahl PP. 198-9.

2. That *eka* (masc.) should be identified with '*manas*' (neu.) is rather astonishing. Perhaps the identity is based upon the superiority of 'mind' over 'Speech'.

3. Cf. with this SBR. (*Mādhyan*) I-iv-5-8-12; SBR. (*Kāṇva*) II-iv-2-12-15 and TS. II-v-11-4-5.

4. Caland would like to read *avanyeti* instead of *avanayati*.  $\checkmark \bar{n}$  with *ava*, according to him, means 'to improve'.

5. Which are these three Lores of the Asuras? Does the expression *tīvra vidyāḥ* refer to the three Vedas?

meant the four-footed cattle, the Asuras the four quarters. Thus, the Gods, only by the four-footed cattle, took possession of the four quarters of the Asuras. Therefore, whatever quarter one, rich in cattle, betakes oneself to, he possesses the whole of it, conquered, properly equipped and well-established (16-18). When the Gods said, 'Let five be ours', they meant the seasons; the Asuras did not know (further for) there is nothing like *pañci*<sup>1</sup> (feminine for *pañca*). The demons, not finding a foothold (*ārambha*) and saying only '*pañca*', '*pañca*'<sup>2</sup> were defeated. Then the Gods prospered, the Asuras were destroyed. He who knows thus, himself prospers and his spiteful enemy is destroyed". (19-22)

Jai. Br. II. 291-292.



1. Caland proposes to read here '*pañci*'.

2. The Asuras repeated this in order to find out the feminine for '*pañca*'. A person, at his wits' end and trying to remember something, goes on doing this a number of times.

The legend explains the purpose and significance of the *anumantrana mantras* of the *prayājas* but to my mind it seems to possess a political import for which see observations *ante*.

## ON THE STRUCTURE OF A'THARVA-VEDA III. 15

R. D. Laddu

Atharva-Veda III. 15 is a *panya-kāma* hymn or a hymn meant for success in trade.<sup>1</sup> According to tradition as preserved by the Anukramanī, it contains eight stanzas counting its 4th stanza as six-lined, while Sāyaṇa distributes the same extent over nine stanzas, thus disturbing or at least differing from the verse-distribution of the Anukramanī in this case. This may be put, for a ready reference, in a comparative table as follows :—

Traditional distribution	=	Sāyaṇa's distribution
Stzs. 1-3	=	1-3
St. 4 (six-lined)	=	4 + 5 <sup>ab</sup>
St. 5	=	5 <sup>cd</sup> + 6 <sup>ab</sup>
St. 6	=	6 <sup>cd</sup> + 7 <sup>(ab)</sup> ( 7 <sup>ab</sup> = No. 7 of Sāyaṇa being a solitary half-verse )
Stzs. 7 & 8	=	8 & 9 respectively

It will be seen from the above that Sāyaṇa<sup>2</sup> who would not tamper with the extent of the material of present hymn as handed down by tradition, is tempted to distribute it in his own convenient way, over nine stanzas. In doing so, however, the

1. The Kauśika-Sutra utilises it in connection with various rites. Thus once it is said to be recited, by a merchant who sets up his shop or loads his merchandise (KS. 50. 12—references are to Bloomfield's ed., Vol. 14, JAOS—1890). Elsewhere it is stated that it is to be recited by a person who is *panyakāma* or, in the words of Sāyaṇa, it is employed *vāṇijyalābhārtham* (*ibid* 59. 6). Yet elsewhere it is rubricated in the *Indra-maha* or the festivity in honour of Indra, the Lord of Business (*ibid* 140. 16), which seems to be a superficial *viriyoga* owing to the *pratika* of the hymn इन्द्रमहं ... (Pada-pātha clearly इन्द्रम् अहम् ...) analogous to the worship of gods with curds (*dadhī*) to the recital of a *rc* sacred to Dadhikrā the divine steed (RV. 4. 39. 6). The Vaitāpa-Sūtra (6. 9—ed. R. Garbe, London, 1878), on the other hand, employs it with reference to the *agnyādhāna* ceremony which also may be explained by the contents of some of the stanzas of the hymn (e.g. 3, 4, 7 and 8).

2. Ref. S. P. Pandit's ed. of the AV.

great scholiast has to leave hanging a half-verse labelling it involuntarily as No. 7.<sup>1</sup>

It is intended here to see how far Sāyaṇa's distribution is justifiable, and see if some other distribution could be suggested to substitute it.

The AV. is preserved in two recensions, the Saunaka and the Paippalāda, the former of which is more popular than the latter. The Paippalāda version differs from the Saunaka sometimes so widely that the problem of the constitution of the *ur-text* of the AV. gets camouflaged more than ever. Certain variants in the Ppp. version are, no doubt, not without merit and considerably help the interpretation of many a difficult passage in the AV.

Coming to the *prastuta*, let us start with stanza 4 of the Anukramanī (= 4 + 5<sup>ab</sup> of Sāyaṇa), a six-lined stanza which reads as follows :—

इमामप्ने शरणि मीमूषो नो  
यमध्वानमगाम दूरम् ॥  
शुनं नो अस्तु प्रप्णो विक्रयश्च  
प्रतिपुणः फलिनै मा कृणोतु ॥  
इदं हृव्यं संविदानौ जुषेथां  
शुनं नो अस्तु चरितमुत्तितं च ॥

The first two lines of this stanza which are absent in the Ppp. version of the hymn are said by Whitney to be an intrusion here in view of the mention of long journey (possibly a business tour) mentioned in b.<sup>2</sup>

These lines occur also in the Rgveda as 1.31.16<sup>ab</sup> with a slight variation in b as इमध्वानं यमगाम दूरात्.<sup>3</sup> If then the

1. Some of the MSS of Roth and Whitney's edition of the AV. present yet another division which of course is of little value. Thus they divide and number in the same way as Sāyaṇa does, upto the middle of the 6th stanza (traditional) and makes St. 7 consist of 6 lines which thus ends where St. 7 of the Anukramanī (=St. 8 of Sāyaṇa) ends. This means a queer tristubh-*cum*-anustubh passage (See Whitney's Note to his translation of AV. III. 15. 4—HOS. 7).

2. See Whitney's Note on the translation of AV. III. 154—HOS No. 7.

3. The Rgveda gives, a better metrical version than the AV. in this case. One is tempted to emend यम् in both the places to यव् to yield a readier sense.

two lines in question be neglected, for the nonce, as an intrusion, the structure of the stanzas of this hymn would assume the following shape :—<sup>1</sup>

	Anu.	Sāyaṇa
St. 4	= 4 cd ef	= 4 cd + 5 ab
St. 5	= 5	= 5 cd + 6 ab
St. 6	= 6	= 6 cd + 7(ab) (the solitary half-verse, in Sāyaṇa).
Sts. 7 and 8	= 7 and 8	= 8 and 9 respectively.

A closer inspection of the text of the hymn will render it plain that the Anukramanī only too correct in reading st. 5 as येन् धनैन् ..... इच्छमातः । तन्मे भूयो भवतु ..... ॥ and st. 6 as येन् धनैन्... इच्छमानः । तस्मिन् .... अग्निः ॥ thus fitly connecting येन् धनैन् with तत् (st. 5) and with तस्मिन् (st. 6). This easily brushes aside Sāyaṇa's distribution of the lines concerned.

Now, if one were to read between lines the six-lined stanza cited above, one would feel that, it is rather lines *ef* than *ab* that should be the cause of real disturbance. The reasons for this may be stated as under :—

(1) The mention of a long journey in *ab* cannot strictly be the cause of their intrusion in this Sūkta. On the contrary, it rightly explains the transgression (*śarāṇi*) mentioned in *a*. The long absence of the Yajamāna from home due to a long business tour has occasioned a break in the diurnal worship of the fire-god, for which he beseeches the god to forgive him (See Sāyaṇa in this connection ).

(2) Nor need the absence of these lines in the Ppp. version taken seriously as a reason for doubting their genuineness in this hymn. This would be an *argumentum ex silentio*.

(3) On the other hand, the *Anukramanī* stanza in question, besides being six-lined, rather unusually, decidedly presents a solecism in the form of a discord of number between...अग्ने...मीरुषः...(*a*) and...सविद्वाऽन्ते ज्ञायाम् (*e*). The general idea of the

1. At any rate the intrusion of some two lines, if not exactly these, must have baffled Sāyaṇa and thus must have been partly responsible for the dislocation of the traditional distribution.

stanza is this:—The author or the singer of this hymn, a *panyakāma* baniya, wants to appease, in particular, Agni on account of the fault of omission on his part and appeal to him to forgive him for this (4<sup>ab</sup>) and expresses a wish that his commercial dealings may prove him fruitful and profitable (4<sup>cd</sup>). This general idea is unnecessarily disturbed by an anonymous allusion to two (gods) in 4<sup>ef</sup>, though in the light of the context the two might be taken to be Indra (mentioned in st. 1 *supra*, which is far removed from the present one) and Agni (mentioned immediately before, in st. 3 above). To invoke another god, in such a circumstance, besides Agni, ‘to enjoy this offering with one accord’, would be a little unbusiness-like on the part of the singer!

(4) Further, the expression शुने नौ अस्तु in *e* (even if it be regarded as a partial burthen) is, curiously enough, repeated in *f* and thus in the course of the same stanza. Thus lines *ef* rather than *ab* seem fairly removed from the immediate context of the 4th stanza of the Anukramanī, and as such may be regarded as redundant in the natural course of it. Or else, they (lines *ef*) may at least be separated as solitary half verse rather than 6<sup>cd</sup> (of the Anukramanī), as has been done by Sāyaṇa. In this latter case, the number of stanzas of the hymn would be nine as according to Sāyaṇa, their distribution being as follows:—

New distribution	Anukra distribution	Sāyaṇa's distribution
st. 1-3	= 1-3	= 1-3
st. 4	= 4 <sup>abcd</sup>	= 4
st. 5	= 4 <sup>ef</sup>	= 5 <sup>ab</sup>
(a solitary half verse)		
st. 6	= 5	= 5 <sup>cd + 6ab</sup>
st. 7	= 6	= 6 <sup>cd + 7(ab)</sup>
st. 8 & 9	= 7 & 8 respectively	= 8 & 9 resp.

The suggestion for an awkward extraction of a half-verse as an independent stanza and with it the case of verse-division of AV. III. 15 may be further considered from yet another angle

of vision. The AV. itself has suggested that six stanzas should be taken as the normal extent of a hymn of the third Kāṇḍa.<sup>1</sup>

Thus according to the dicta referred to above, this hymn should contain six stanzas, the rest of its portion being a departure (*vikṛti*) from verse-norm of the 3rd kāṇḍa of the AV. Now stanzas 7 and 8 (acc. to Anukra. 8 and acc. to Sāyaṇa 9) have little to do with the rest of the hymn. Being primarily *yajus* formulas, they are fittingly employed as *puronuvākyā* and *yājyā* respectively in connection with the *agnyādhāna* ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

If we eliminate these last two stanzas for this reason, we have yet seven stanzas that remain, if of course, a half-verse, any for the matler of that,<sup>3</sup> is allowed to stand as an independent stanza. But if, as suggested above, *pādas ef* of the 4th stanza (= Sāyaṇa's 5<sup>ab</sup>) are further eliminated, or neglected, as superfluous, we safely come to the number six of the stanzas in this hymn, which would be in obeyance to the Atharva tradition *re* the verse-norm of the 3rd kāṇḍa of the AV.

And this elimination, without disturbing in the last, the theme of the hymn, easily removes the awkward fix of being forced *either* to count one stanza as six-lined on the one hand, *or* to look upon a solitary half-verse (keeping it hanging) as an independent stanza, on the other. Thus the revised distribution and numbering of the stanzas of AV. III. 15 would be proposed as follows :—

Revised distribution	Anukama. distribution	Sāyaṇa's distribution
1-3 =	1-3	= 1-3
4 =	4 abcd	= 4 <sup>4</sup>
5 =	5	= 5cd + 6ab
6 =	6	= 6cd + 7(ab)
7 and 8 =	7 and 8 resp.	= 8 and 9 resp.

1. See AV. 19. 22 and 23 ; this is made clear by the Brhatsarvānukramāṇi, in the beginning of its treatment of books 2 and 3 (the statements of this major Anukramāṇi, as Whitney calls it, have been cited by him in the learned introduction to his translation of the AV. (pp. cxlviii and cxlviv—HOS, 7). See also the Atharvapariśiṣṭā, 46. 9. 10.

2. See Bloomfield—Hymns of the AV.—SBE, No. 32, p. 354.

3. Either 4ef (= 5ab of Sā.) or 6cd (= 7 of Sā.).

4. Eliminating 4ef (= Sā. 5ab).

## THE LATE MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VĀSUDEVA SĀSTRI ABHYANKAR

C. R. Deodhar

On the 14th of October 1942 Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Sāstri Abhyankar passed away at the ripe old age of seventy-nine, and with his death comes to an end the distinguished line of teacher and pupil descending from the famous Nilakantha Sastri Thatte of the Peshwa days, who brought Sanskrit learning from its distant seat of Benares to this capital of the Peshwas. The study of Grammar was the *forte* of these stalwarts and as Grammar is the very foundation of Sanskrit learning, their profound knowledge of this branch gave them an easy mastery over other branches of Sanskrit learning, like Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta. For the grammarians are *first* among learned men. (प्रथमे हि विद्वांसः वैचाकरणाः). The late Vāsudeva Sastri was the last of these stalwarts and the most distinguished, both on account of his position as Professors' professor in the premier College in the Presidency and on account of the very extensive record of his erudition evidenced in numerous works that he wrote and edited during a fruitful period of 50 years of his life in Poona (1892 to 1942).

Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Sastri hailed from Satara, where he studied under Rāma Sastri Godbole, a distinguished pupil of Bhāskara Sastri Abhyankar, the grandfather of Vāsudeva Sastri. Bhāskar Sastri (1785-1872) founded a Sanskrit Pāṭha Śālā at Satara, wrote a commentary on the difficult grammatical work "Sekhara" and was honoured by the public with the title "Vidvanmukūṭaratna" for his profound erudition. He was first among the pupils of the famous Nilakantha Sastri Thatte, the "Pāṇini" of Poona; and Vāsudeva Sastri who was fourth in this line of teacher and pupil may be fittingly honoured with the title of the Patañjali of Mahārāshtra, not only because most of the Pāṭhaśālas in this part of the country worked under his aegis and have been conducted by pupils taught by him, but also because of the stupendous task of translating the *Mahābhāṣya* in the language of Mahārāshtra, which he carried out in the decline of his life and dedicated

to the people thereof through the D. E. Society on the occasion of the celebration of his 76th birthday.

Vāsudeva Śāstri lost his father when he was just a year old, and his grandfather, the famous Bhāskar Śāstri died when he was seven ; it was his guru Rāma Śāstri, who undertook the task of conducting the Pāṭhaśālā at Satara and of looking to the education of Vāsudeva Śāstri, a task which he performed with such thorough zeal and devotion that the late Vāsudeva Śāstri could ill conceal the tears of gratitude that moistened his eyes whenever he had occasion to refer to his guru. He imparted all his deep learning to this more than a pupil and sent him to Poona with his blessings in the year 1891 where through the good offices of the late Justice Ranade he was introduced to the Management of the Fergusson College and was appointed a Śāstri at the College to strengthen the department of Sanskrit, which was severely crippled through the loss in 1892 of Principal Vaman Shivaram Apte. His association with the college for over fifty years — for although he formally retired in 1928 after serving the College for thirty-six years, yet the teachers of Sanskrit in the College used to receive instruction from him in various branches of Sanskritic learning almost to the last day of his life—shed lustre over the College as a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was truly the professors' professor and used to explain all their difficulties in the various Śāstras. He bore his profound erudition with such grace, dignity and humility, that it never repelled his pupils, but attracted them more and more to him.

He worked unremittingly to the last day of his life and the numerous works he wrote edited, or translated bear testimony to his industry and learning. He was honoured with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya by the Imperial Government in the year 1921 in recognition of his service to the cause of learning, while in the year 1938 his numerous admirers and pupils from all parts of Mahrāṣṭra celebrated his 76th birthday in a manner worthy of so great an occasion ; the then Prime Minister of Bombay presided over the celebrations ; he announced the publication of the 1st volume of the translation in Marathi of Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, a work which the Mahāmahopādhyaya

presented to the Fergusson College as a token of his loving regard for that Institution. Two volumes out of the projected five have already seen the light of day, and the remaining three together with the learned Introduction will soon be published. It was the hope of the promoters of the project that the whole work would be printed and published during its author's lifetime; but that was not to be! and to the eternal regret of all lovers of Sanskrit, a light passed away from the world, leaving it to grope its way through the fog and darkness of ignorance.

**A Chronological List of the Works of the Late  
Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudevaśāstri Abhyankar  
( 1863-1932 )**

- (1) 1886 Com. on the Parīḥaṣṭenduśekhara ( in Ms.)
- (2) 1886 do the Laghuśabdenduśekhara ( do )
- (3) 1902-10 Marathi Tr. of the Brahma-Sūtra Śāṅkara Bhāṣya ( In Collaboration with Prof. Chandorkar.)
- (4) 1904 Tippanīs on the Śrī Bhāṣya-Catussūtrī.
- (5) 1906 Edition of the Yatindra-mata-dīpikā.
- (6) 1914 do the Śrī-Bhāṣya ( 2 vols )
- (7) 1915 Tippanīs on the First Sūtra of the Śrī Bhāṣya.
- (8) Do Original Work : Viśiṣṭādvaitamata.
- (9) 1916 Tippanīs on the Bra. Sū. Śāṅkara Bhāṣya II. 1-2.
- (10) 1917 Edition of the Yogasūtras of Patañjali.
- (11) 1918 Original work : Advitāmoda.
- (12) 1921 Ed. of the Kāvyaprakāśa.
- (13) 1922 Original Work: Sūtrāntara-parigrahavicāra.
- (14) 1924 Com. on the Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha.
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- (20) 1934 Com. on the Mīmāṃsā Nyāyaprakāśa.

- (21) 1938 Com. on the Bhagavadgīta Ch. 1-2.
- (22) Do do the Siddhānta-Bindu.
- (23) Do Marathi Tr. of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya Vol. I
- (24) 1939 Original Work : Kāyapariśuddhi.
- (25) 1941 Original Work : Sādhanāmoda ( In Ms.)
- (26) 1941 Marathi Tr. of the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya Vol. II
- (27) In Press do do Vol. III
- (28-29) To be published do do Vols. IV-V
- (30) 1942 do : Mokṣāmoda ( Incomplete: in Ms. )



## THE LATE PROF. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

V. Raghavan

By the demise, after a brief illness, on the 9th December 1942 of Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, the University of Madras and the field of Indian Philosophy suffered a serious loss. It is all the more unfortunate that Prof. Sastri should have passed away at so premature an age as forty-nine, and at a stage in his scholarly career when he was giving to the world of his best.

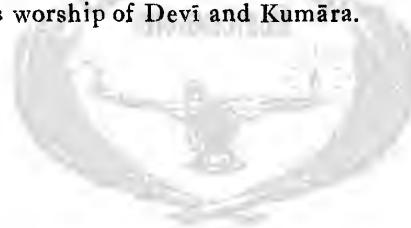
Prof. Sastri was educated at the Madura College, Madura and the Pacchiappa's College, Mardas, up to his B. A. which he passed with a first class. As a Lecturer in the Pacchiappa's College, he qualified himself for the M. A. degree through the Presidency College, with rare distinction. He went to Oxford as a Government of India Scholar and received high praise from Bradley. He was also called to the Bar.

After his return from England, he practiced as a lawyer for a short time and was also the Principal of the Madura College. In 1927, he became the Reader and the Head of the Department of Indian Philosophy in the University of Madras. From his early days he was noted for his strong memory and excellent writing. His work covers mainly the fields of Advaita Vedanta and Śivādvaita, but he has not been without making significant contribution to several other branches such as Sāṃkhya. He was also the General Secretary of the Philosophical Congress. In 1937, he presided over the Philosophy Section of the Trivandrum Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. He had also delivered the Principal Miller lectures on the Advaitic concept of Progress, in the Madras University (See J. O. R., Madras). Some of his most well-known works may be mentioned here :—

1. Śivādvaita Nirṇaya.	Madras University.
2. Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha.	" "
3. Sāṃkhya Kārikā.	" "
4. Siddhānta Leśasaṅgraha of Appayya Dīkṣīta	" "

5. Bhāmatī Catusūtrī<sup>1</sup>  
(with Dr. C. Kunhan Raja). Adyar Library.
6. Mānameyodaya  
(with Dr. C. K. Raja). „ „ „
7. Vedāntaparibhāṣā „ „ „
8. Paramārtha Sāra of Śeṣa. New Indian Antiquary,  
Extra Series.
9. Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṅgraha  
(with Dr. S. Sen). Andhra University.

His shorter works include a primer of logic and an account of Śaṅkara. His learned papers to the several Research Journals are too numerous to be mentioned. He had planned many more important works and translations of classic works of Indian Philosophy when fate cut short his life. Though a metaphysician, the late Prof. Sastri was also ardently emotional, thanks perhaps to his worship of Devī and Kumāra.



## REVIEWS

**The Vis'va Bharati Quarterly : Abanindra Number.** Vol. VIII, Parts I & II, May-Oct. 1942. by K. R. Kriplani.

The Muses are born Sisters, and it is not rarely that they choose a common devotee, though the measure of their bounty may vary. The illustrious house of Tagores has been a favourite haunt of these divine Sisters, and like his uncle Rabindranath, Abanindranath—the Father of Modern Indian Art—has secured a place of honour amongst the great men of the world.

Every country has its own cultural heritage which is the most sacred treasure of her sons. India, with a glorious history in all the spheres of human activity and achievement, has undoubtedly had her own traditions in the domain of Art though a thick mist of Western influence and the sudden flash of some of its glaring features had blinded us to it, during the last century. Abanindranath, with a keen searching insight, and his artistic vision illumined by a spirit of independence, started the revival of genuine Indian Art by breathing new Life into the elaborate, exquisitely fine specimens of old Indian Painting—The Moghul miniatures or the frescoes of Ajanta and making them capable of expressing the Indian mind. His greatness lies in his picking up the thread of lost tradition and redeeming the country's original heritage. As Painter, Poet, Play-write, Musician and in a variety of other spheres, Abanindranath has been striving all along to assert India's native culture and can rightly be called the philosopher-Artist of modern India. It is the soul of the artist that manifests itself in a variety of ways through his works. The Style and the Technique shape themselves to suit the expression of that soul but they can never replace it. Where there is usurpation of the soul's place by Technique we get mere waxen images—soulless Pretenders of Art.

The Number under review contains tributes to the Master from his great admirers like the Marquess of Zetland, Sir William Rothenstein, and Mohitlal Majumdar as also by his illustrious disciples like Nandalal Bose, Mukul Dey, Asitkumar Haldar and some other persons of repute. The reproduction of

the Master's own famous article—"Sādāṅga or the Six Limbs of Painting" and his masterly exposition of the fundamentals of painting contained in

रूपभेदः प्रमाणानि भावलाक्षण्यशोजनम् ।

साहश्च वर्णिकाभेदं इति चित्रं पद्मकम् ॥

gives a new vision to the reader. The numerous plates given at the end do bear splendid testimony to Abanindranath's personality and his teachings.

The Editor has spared no pains in making this number a success and he deserves congratulations—and also gratitude for serving the cause of Indian Art.

—Y. G. VAZE.

**Jainism and Karnātaka Culture.** By S. R. Sharma, M.A., Demi pp. xxix, 213. Price Rs. 5. Pub. by Secretary, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1940.

The main part of the work under review, as its author says, is a revision of his thesis 'Jainism in South India' approved by the Bombay University for the M. A. degree in 1928. Being a cultural study of Jainism in Karnataka, the work deals with the historical landmarks in the vicissitudes of Jainism in Karnataka and its reaction to the culture of Karnataka.

The work is divided into four broad sections. Section I is an unbiased and scrutinising historical study in the antiquity of Jainism, its spread in South India and its influence over the rulers and the people of South India, with reference to some important aspects which have a bearing upon factual evidences vouched by epigraphical and archaeological remains in India. Section II deals with the rich contributions of medieval Jaina writers of Karnataka in Literature, Art and Architecture, which have justly raised Jainism and what it stands for considerably high in the estimate of culture. Section III makes an unmistakable and uptodate attempt to trace the vicissitudes and metamorphasis that Jainism has undergone through many centuries past in South India, especially in Karnataka. Here too, the attitude of the learned author is that of an impartial judge of facts rather than that of a sentimental or orthodox writer—the right attitude that should bear well with modern scholarship. It is

an account of Jainism as it was and Jainism as it came to be, his brief against the numerous misconceptions regarding Jaina History, his discussions on the extent of influence and causes of disintegration of Jainism in the South, all these, are as unbiased and unsophisticated as they are sound and learned. Curiously enough, particularly his views as regards Ahimsā and Pessimism in Jainism tally with those of the present reviewer.

The merit of this work is certainly enhanced by four appendices :—

- (A) A comparative ( Digambara and Śvetambara ) Genealogies of the Jaina *gurus* as available from the Jaina chronicles.—
- (B) Documents—Mss. Material ( bearing on the work ) preserved in South India.—(C) Notes—eluciditating certain crucial points and technical terms in Jain Philosophy, theoretical and practical.—(D) A detailed bibliography of (1) Sources, archaeological and literary, and (2) published literature on Jainism comprising articles and works of various scholars in the field.

In short the present work is a welcome study in Jainism in Karnataka and should prove to give a good stimulus to those interested in the vast field of Jainology, the extent of which is yet to be explored by modern scholarship. One only wished that the book should not have suffered from some of the glaring misprints and that it should have contained English renderings of all the Kanerese and Sanskrit passages.

It is a happy augury to the Karnatak Historical Research Society of Dharwar that they have published this learned monograph as Vol. I of its Silver Jubilee Publication Series, on the eve of their Silver Jubilee.

—R. D. L.

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**R̥gveda Samhitā with Sāyana's Commentary, Vol. III** (Maṇḍalas 6-8), Edited by *The Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona*, Pages xvii + 64 + 966, size 7" × 10½" 1942. Price Rs. 16/-.

The Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, have rendered a signal service to the cause of Oriental studies by their worthy undertaking of a revised *editio criticus* of the R̥gveda with the excellent commentary of Sāyañacārya, which has been a *desideratum* especially when the edition of F. Max Müller as well as the Bombay ed. of the work have been out of print for long.

Founded on the 1st of August, 1928, in Memory of the late Lok. B. G. Tilak, the Maṇḍala have so far placed before the public a critical text of the first eight *Maṇḍalas* of the R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya, in three grand Volumes (Vol. I containing *Maṇdala I* (1933), Vol. II, *Maṇdalas 2-5* (1936) Vol. III, *Maṇdalas 6-9* (1941).

The work is based on a variety of MSS. in various characters, secured from various quarters of India as well as from those outside. The *apparatus criticus* presented by the editors in the introductions to the three volumes speaks of the width of the span of the plan before them, as the excellent collation of the MSS. material does of their patient industry and consummate scholarship in the Vedic field.

The 3rd volume which is at present, under review is based on as many as 30 different MSS, the principle adopted here in fixing the text of the bhāṣya being uniform with that adopted in the previous two volumes. A feature of these volumes is that they record all the places where the learned scholiast differs or seems to differ from the pada-pāṭha. In short the work of the Maṇḍala is progressing on an unmistakably sound basis and is thoroughly in conformity with the up-to-date principles of critical editing. It is hoped that before long the Maṇḍala will be able to acquit themselves of the stupendous task they have undertaken, by bringing out the last volume of the R̥gveda to be followed, of course, by others as precious of the rest of the Vedic literature. We may, *en passant*, venture to suggest here that an *index verborum*, or preferably a complete dictionary of the R̥gvedic vocables with all possible interpretations of theirs suggested by Vedic scholars, Indian as well as Western, be also noted down by the Maṇḍala as a supplementary volume to the present ones. Such a dictionary is a great necessity of a Vedic student, and will surely stimulate his interest in the Vedic studies.

Meanwhile, it is impossible to speak in too high terms of the services rendered by the Vaidika Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala in laying down *de novo* the foundations of Vedic Research, in our mother-land which has preserved for us the noble heritage that is ours.

—R. D. LADDU

**Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal**, by Dr. S. K. De (Calcutta, General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 1942. Pp. 535, Price Rs. 10/-.)

Like the Wārkari faith in Maharashtra, Vaiṣṇavism is a living faith in Bengal. Caitanyism, the form of Vaiṣṇavism with which an attempt is sometimes made to establish a relation of the Wārkari faith, is presented to the reader in this weighty volume of closely printed over five hundred pages by a great Bengali Scholar Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University.

Caitanyism is a religion of love and Caitanya is its author. Even before the advent of Caitanya in Bengal, there were Vaiṣṇavas like Jaydeo, Chandidas and Vidyapati and it is true that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism owes a good deal to those poets who sang the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Yet it is accepted on all hands that the great impetus and the special form which this Vaiṣṇava movement received in Bengal were practically wholly due to the personality of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, the Lord of Navadvipa.

The Book under review is a thorough and comprehensive study of the Caitanya faith and movement in so far as its author and his immediate Vṛandāvana followers are concerned. The Navadvipa branch has not been touched and we would like this opportunity to request the author to present an equally comprehensive and thorough study of that branch also. The method followed in this book is an objective one. The author puts before his readers a faithful summary of the original works like Bhakti-Rasāmṛta Sindhu or Bhāgavata Sandarbha of the six Goswamis to whom it was left to elaborate and define the doctrine, creeds and practices of this faith. Where no works are available, the author tries to collect the possible evidence, sift the authentic from mere hearsay and arrive at conclusions which shall stand the test of scientific enquiry. The great scholar has tapped both the Sanskrit and Bengali sources in order to collect the data for his thesis. A wealth of other writings bearings on these has also been mastered. And we have before us, as a result, a very thorough and masterly presentation of the Vṛandāvana branch of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal.

It begins by determining the beginnings of this faith in Bengal. Having set aside the theories of its origin which trace

it to Rāmānuja or Mādhwā, it rightly accepts the theory that this Vaiṣṇava movement like the similar Vaiṣṇava movements in other provinces, is to be traced to the influence of that immortal work *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*. By the bye, it is interesting that inspite of the fact that Caitanyism was dualistic its promulgators respected Śrīdhara's commentary on the Bhāgavata, even though Śrīdhara was an advaitist.

In the second chapter, the author proceeds to examine the data regarding the life and works of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. After sifting a mass of Sanskrit and Bengali material, he tries to present the story of his life which can be fairly accepted as a consistent account of the life-history of the great devotee. However, it must not be forgotten that this is a case where differences of opinion concerning the details are possible. For instance, different accounts of his death are given. But the author rightly accepts the natural version that this great devotee also died just a natural death. We would, however, take this opportunity to refer to one point, a point of minimum importance from the point of view of the life-history of Caitanya, but important from the point of view of Maharashtra Vaiṣṇavism. On page 69 while giving an account of the long and extensive pilgrimage of Caitanya in the Southern and Western India, the author says, "it is probable also that he left behind some general influence in the Maratha Country, which survived as it did, through a century to the days of Tukārāma, who acknowledges his debt to "Caitanya Teachers". The great scholar relies on J. Nelson Fraser's 'The Poems of Tukaram'. The present writer, however, thinks that no such relationship can be established from this mere similarity of names. The Caitanya teachers referred to do not belong to Caitanya Movement of Bengal. That Lord Gaurang must have visited the Dekkan, nobody has any right to doubt. But a close and comparative study of the two movements shows that there are fundamental differences between them which preclude any hypothesis of such kinship.

In the third chapter, the author deals with the life-history of Rūpa, Sanātana and other Goswāmins who are, as stated above, responsible for the elaboration and definition of the doctrine and cult of this Vaiṣṇava Movement.

In the chapters 4, 5 and 6, we are introduced to the Rasa Śāstra, Theology and Philosophy and Ritualism and Devotional Practices of this Faith. This is the central portion of the book. The last, viz. the 7th chapter is devoted to the literature of this faith.

It is, however, impossible to give in a short space at our disposal any adequate idea of Rasaśāstra, Theology and Philosophy of this faith or of the scholarship of the author manifested in this portion. As a specimen of intensive study of the several original works made by the author, we would like to recommend our readers to refer to pages 193, 313 to 320 where references from Epics, Purāṇas, Vedic Literature, Tantra and Āgama and other devotional Texts and Commentaries to be met with in the original works are given.

It was indeed a great gain for Bhaktisāstra that Lord Gaurāṅga, the God-intoxicated sage, had for his immediate disciples learned scholars and rhetoricians like Rūpa and Jīva Swamīns, who tried to construct a science of such subtle things as sentiments and emotions of love or Bhakti. The credit of first systematizing the supreme devotion of love belongs to Rūpa Goswāmīn. While most of the orthodox rhetoricians would treat Bhakti as Bhāva and not Rasa these poet-rhetoricians have, like Madhusudan Saraswati treated Bhakti as Rasa and employed the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit rhetoricians to give an elaborate analysis of these erotic sentiments. It is impossible to give to the reader even a rough idea of this complex discussion full of crowded details. It should be read in the original. We only point out that this sentiment of love has been studied also through its Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas. It is a fine specimen of intellectual subtlety. So also is the treatment of their Theology and Philosophy. In Philosophy Caitanyism is dualistic and has much in common with other Vaiṣṇava faiths. Its theology is peculiar. We quote below an interesting passage from Dineshchandra Sen's 'The Vaisnava Literature of Medieval Bengal' which will give some idea of their interesting theology.

D. C. Sen says :

" The sum and substance of their theory worked out in minute detail in the theological works of the later Chaitanya

School is that Lord, who is all beauty, willed to taste his own love and incarnated himself in Chitanya. The Gopīs represent the reflex power of the Lord by which he can enjoy his own perfect beauty. There are as many Gopīs as there are emotions in the soul to welcome Him—the Beloved One. But the greatest of all is Rādhā who lives not for herself but for Him alone. According to these Vaiṣṇavas Chaitanya when bewailing his separation from the deity is Rādhā and when he becomes one in this soul with the beloved God in his trances, he is Kṛṣṇa himself. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa both, are thus incarnated in the person of Chitanya while the other Gopīs are incarnated in his followers."

We should like to end this notice of a very valuable book on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism by saying that this book will prove a great help to the student of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The scholarly work deserves to be studied first hand.

—S. V. D.

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**A Handbook of Virasaivism.** . By S. C. Nandimath, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Principal and Professor of Sanskrit, Lingaraj College, Belgaum. With a foreword by Prof. R. D. Ranade, M.A. Price : Rs. 3.

While books on Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Jainism and Buddhism are many and various, there have been no reliable books in English on Viraśaiva religion and philosophy. In result, Histories of Indian Philosophy hardly refer to Viraśaivism. Dr. Nandimath, therefore, deserves to be congratulated by all students of Indian culture, and especially of Indian philosophy, for his readable, scholarly and comprehensive *Handbook of Viraśaivism* which, not only gives the reader an adequate introduction to Viraśaiva writers, and to Viraśaiva ethics, philosophy and metaphysics, but also refer him to original authorities so that he may do research on his own. Dr. Nandimath's book is packed with matter and will repay earnest study. Philosophically, Viraśaivism favours a *via media* between Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita. The general argument of the book has been eloquently summarized in the last chapter, "The Quintessence of Viraśaivism". The con-

cluding sentence of the book may be here quoted as a quintessential summary of Dr. Nandimath's able thesis : "Democratic in spirit, puritanic in fervour, with service for its watchword and the *ṣaṭsthala* for its signposts, *Viraśaivism* firmly blends together man's spiritual and social lives and thus teaches all the art of right living." Dr. Nandimath's book deserves to be read by a large circle of readers, for, besides being a valuable treatise, it is also finely got up, bound in full calico ; and although it is nearly 300 pages in bulk, its price is within the reach of all.

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**Śrī Rāmāyaṇa Mahākāvya**, with Marathi translation and a critical survey. Vol. VI. The Sundara-kāṇḍa. Edited by Pandit S. D. Satavalekar. Size crown 8 vo., Pp. 16, 542. Price Rs. 3. Published by Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala, Aundh, 1942.

The Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala of Aundh, under the direction of Pandit S. D. Satavalekar is rendering very valuable help to the critical students of the Vedic literature by publishing very accurately prepared editions of various Vedic *Samhitās* and the *Daivata-Samhitās*. In addition to this laudable work in the field of Vedic Studies, the Maṇḍala has undertaken to bring out, since 1941, in 10 volumes a fresh illustrated edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa with a synopsis of each Kāṇḍa, a Marathi translation and a critical survey called the *Nirikṣāṇa* of the particular portion comprised in each volume. The translation is printed just below the text on the same page, which makes this edition equally useful for a careful student who can conveniently compare the translation with the original, and for a general reader who is primarily interested in the story. The *Nirikṣāṇa* is indeed a special feature of this edition. It presents a critical analysis and an interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa from the historical and political points of view, showing that the Rāmāyaṇa is not merely a Kāvya, but solid and reliable history of the Aryan expansion in the South ; it also contains many other original, and thought-provoking observations, evincing a prolonged and profound study of the epic by the editor. The survey appended at the end of the Sundara-kāṇḍa, for example, contains an account of the various theories about the location of

Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā (particularly of those advanced by C. M. Mehta and T. Paramashiva Iyer), the life of Vālmiki and some popular beliefs of the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. In this respect this edition resembles that of the sister epic, the Mahābhārata, which was being published by D. S. Yande of Bombay and which has unfortunately remained incomplete.

So far Vols. I Bāla-kāṇḍa, II Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa part 1, and VI Sundara-kāṇḍa are out. The present reviewer is mainly responsible for the VI volume being published earlier than Vols. III-V. As the Bombay University had appointed the Sundara-kāṇḍa for the B. A. Voluntary Sanskrit Course for 1943-44, he requested Pandit Satavalekar to give that Kāṇḍa priority over the earlier ones, for the benefit of the College students. The remaining volumes will be published hereafter in due order and without undue delay. A substantial concession in price is offered to those who would pay in advance for the whole set of 10 volumes. We strongly recommend this nicely got up edition to the notice of our readers.

--N. A. G.

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( Dr. R. N. Sardesai )

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**Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal ( Pre-Muhammadan Epochs )** by Dr. B. C. Sen. The bulk of this work, consisting of Parts I and II represents the author's Thesis approved by the London University for the Degree of Ph. D. in History in 1932. Substantial additions are constituted by two chapters on Administration (Part III). Calcutta 1942. Roy. Pp. 68, 613. Rs. 10

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### EPICS AND PURANAS

**Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa** by Prof. N. A. Gore. An indispensable book for the students of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. It gives detailed information about the various Text editions, Translations, Epitoms and Abridgments of the Rāmāyaṇa and Books and Papers on Rāmāyaṇa in many Indological journals with very useful extracts from the most important Books and Papers. It also contains Indexes of Proper names and Subjects and also the English trans. of two sections from Jacobi's Das Rāmāyaṇa on the Epic language and the Poetic Art of Vālmiki, Poona 1943. Cr. Pp. VI, 99. Rs. 1-8

**Rāghavīya** of Rāmapāṇivāda (रामपाणिवादविरचित्-राघवीयम्) ed. with an English Intro. by L. A. Ravi Varma. It is a Māhā-kāvya in 20 Cantos divided into two sections of 10 Cantos each and embodying the well-known story of Rāmāyaṇa, Trivandrum 1942. Roy. Pp. 30, 3, 181, 23. Rs. 1-8

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fire-arms and gases therein. Nadiad, Demi, Pp. VIII, 4, 349 and 5 maps. Rs. 2. (*Re. 1-8 to subscribers of this Journal*).

**Sundara Kāṇḍa Abridged** (सुंदरकाण्डः संक्षिप्तः) Topically divided into Parts and Sections with Headings, Sub-headings, split-word text and translation and Notes in English by R. V. Matkari. Rs. 1-4

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<b>Veda-sāstra-Dipikā</b> (वेदशास्त्रदीपिका) a collection of essays in Marathi and Sanskrit on Vedas, Vedāngas, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā etc. by learned Pandita. Poona 1941. Pp. 34, 540, 28.	Rs. 2-8 net.

**Mr. L. R. Gokhale's Works in मराठी on भगवद्गीता**

- १ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता—प्रवेश. अध्याय १ ला—यांत प्रथम लोक नंतर पदे व पदबोध नंतर अन्वय, मराठी, इंग्रजी अर्थ दिला असून पदबोधांत प्रत्येक शब्दाचे व्याकरण दिले असून शक्य त्या ठिकाणी व्युत्पत्तीहि दिली आहे. मारील लोकांचा संवंध पुढील लोकाशी कसा येत आहे हेहि प्रत्येक लोकांचे आरंभी दाखविले असून अध्यायांतील विषयांचा विस्तार कसा होत गेला आहे हैं दाखविष्यासाठी श्लोकांचे विवरणहि दिले आहे. किं. १३ आणे.
- २ —Do— अध्याय ९ वा. राजविद्याराजगुह्योग—भक्तियोग-भाग १ ला. वरील पद्धतीवरच लिहिले आहे. किं. रु. १-४.
- ३ बृहत्कौश—यांत भ. गीतेतील अंकारविलहैं प्रत्येक शब्दाचै मराठी, इंग्रजी व हिंदी अर्थासह स्पष्टीकरण असून व्याकरण विषयक टीपा आहेत. ( लवकरच प्रसिद्ध होईल ).

He had no property. He enjoyed immunity from civil law.<sup>326</sup> Budhism overthrew the old order and divided society in two groups, the ascetic and layman. The former was organised into a powerful institution. It built monasteries, charity houses and shrines and conducted schools for laymen. Women were ineligible for the order of monks at first. Later they were freely admitted. Corruption and vice soon stepped in and polluted the sacred atmosphere. Brahmanism did not establish Vihāras for their Sanyāsins and discouraged women from ascetism. Women and money have been the disruptive forces in all religious institutions.<sup>327</sup> Ascetics covered themselves with bark garment or tattered clothes sewn together. Some roamed naked. They arranged their hair by using the juice of trees. Ingudi seedcrush was applied before bath. Pindas offered to manes were made of Ingudi and Jujube fruit.<sup>328</sup> Manu gives various methods by which Sanyāsin is to hasten his death. This idea of torturing the flesh to meet death is contrary to Brahmanas.<sup>329</sup> The orthodox view is voiced in the following. ‘If through renunciation any one can get salvation, the mountains and trees would soon attain it.’<sup>330</sup> Gītā makes a compromise by reinterpreting ‘renunciation’.

Gambling was popular ever since the days of Rigveda. Two officers controlled the game. The manager collected royal dues and the umpire gave decisions. Bibhitaka was used in making dice. Cowries were also current. Draughts were made of four different colours. Kings made them out of emerald, gold, ivory and mercury (gilded red). The cubical pieces were arranged on a wooden board with houses. The play by proxy was allowed, other party consenting. Stakes included all articles of utility. Slaves could be staked. Nala lost his kingdom but refused to stake his wife. Staking of a wife is unparalleled. A gambling house was a rendezvous of all bad characters in society. Fraud and deception were common. It ruined many an honest man. There were public duels (armed and unarmed) of the warriors and gymnasts. Men also fought with lions, tigers and elephants.<sup>331</sup> Usually all festivals were accompanied with music, dance and dramatic representation. Hunting was a favourite pastime with Kshatriyas. The party was accompanied by trained dogs. It

was thought respectable for warriors to eat the flesh of the game hunted by them. Travelling was encouraged by making visits to holy shrines a part of religious duty. Corporate travelling was a source of pleasure and knowledge.<sup>332</sup> The king appointed jokers at his court to get relief from tedium of routine.<sup>333</sup>

**Ceremonies** Coronation was a very important function. Shāntiparva gives the following description. There is a state procession. Dharma is seated in a chariot drawn by sixteen white oxen. He resembles king Soma who is carried to the sacrificial ground in an ox-carriage. The streets are adorned with white garlands and flags; fragrant powders are scattered and incense kept burning. Pitchers full of water are placed at the entrance of the hall where charming maidens are awaiting his arrival. The priests consecrated him by sprinkling water fetched from oceans, rivers, ponds, springs and other sources, and reciting holy hymns.<sup>334</sup> The king formally appoints officers to look after various departments, receives gifts from feudatories, rewards friends and servants and distributes charities.<sup>335</sup> The Shatapatha account differs in some respects. Four wooden jars are carried along by the priest, kinsman, friend belonging to his caste and merchant. Seventeen kinds of waters, already procured, are poured into those jars. After the bath he ascends the tiger's skin representing the strength of Soma. He puts on an inner silk-piece and an outer garment of white wool. To these is added a robe. The neckgear is put round the neck and its extremities are tied to the lower garment near the navel. According to others it is to be fastened round the waist (like a girdle). He is then given three arrows and a bow. A eunuch is standing nearby into whose mouth he throws a piece of copper to avoid death from serpents, etc. Afterwards he marches to five directions.<sup>336</sup> A piece of lead, representing Namuchi, is thrown on the ground upon which he treads. On one ankle he puts on Rukma; a similar ornament is worn on the head for long life. He prays to Varuṇa and Mitra raising his arms aloft. Adhvaryu sprinkles the waters along with others. A chariot is brought in, which he occupies surrounded by a hundred cows. He puts on a pair of shoes made of boar's leather. He is addressed as Arjuna the

secret name of Indra. He deserves to be so-called owing to his two-fold capacity viz. knight-hood and sacrificership. Then he bestows rewards. He is carried in a royal litter to the gambling hall. The play begins. Kali is counted as the highest throw.<sup>337</sup> The cow is offered as a stake. The priest hands over to him a wooden sword.<sup>338</sup> The oath of allegiance to be taken by the king is already referred to.

Vṛṣākapi (identified with Mahāvarāha himself) appears as  
the first worshipper of Pitṛs. He offers  
Shrādha three Pindas to the manes. The balls are  
the three lumps of wet earth shaken off  
from the tusk.<sup>339</sup>

Upanayana is another important ceremony when the student is formally given in charge of the preceptor.<sup>340</sup>

The ceremony was performed a second time by grown up men, when they wished to learn a new science (विद्या) from a teacher. In Upaniṣads learned Brahmins approach Jānaka to get the rare knowledge of Ātma-Vidyā. Caste-superiority did not prevent higher castes from approaching even a Śūdra if he could impart any valuable Vidyā.<sup>341</sup>

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# RELATION OF EPICS TO BRĀHMĀNA LITERATURE

*References with Notes and Appendices*

( V. V. Dixit )

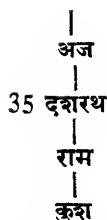
- ( 1 ) Mahābhārata a criticism ( C. V. Vaidya ).
- ( 2 ) म. भा. समा. Genealogy of the Lunar race of kings



अयुतनार्यी	
कालिङ्गी × अक्रोधन	
वैदेही × देवातिथि	
आङ्गी × अरिह	
नारी × ऋक्ष ( married to the daughter of तक्षक )	
अतिनार	
तंसु	
ईलिन्	
शकुन्तला × दुष्यन्त	
भरत	
अभिमन्यु × दाशार्थी	
सुहोत्र	
हस्तिन् Founder of हस्तिनापुर	
विकुंठन	
अजमदि	
संवरण Defeated by पाञ्चाल्स	जहु
कुरु	सिन्धुद्रीप
विदूर	वलाकाश
अनश्चा × मागधी	वल्लभ
परीक्षित	कुशिक
भीमसेन	गाधि
प्रतिश्रवा	विश्वामित्र



ध्रुवसन्धि	प्रसेनजित्
भरत	
असित	
सगर (poisoned when in the womb of his mother)	
असमञ्ज	
अंशुमान्	
दिलीप	
भगीरथ known in connection with the regulation of the Ganges.	
ककुत्स्थ	
रघु	
कल्माषपाद (A cannibal)	
शङ्खण	Genealogy of विदेह kings
सुदर्शन	विदेह
अधिवर्ण	निमि
शीघ्रग	मिथि Founder of मिथिला
मह	3 जनक 1st
प्रश्नश्रुक	11 हर्षश्र
अंबरीष	20 हस्तरोम
नहुष	21 जनक II. Father of सीता
यथाति	
नाभाग	



(3) तै. ब्रा. रोहिण्यामधिमादधीत...स्व एव योनौ अन्ततः प्रतिष्ठापयति  
and also myth of रोहिणी.

श. ब्रा. एता है वै कृतिकाः प्राच्यै दिशो नच्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा  
नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशः च्यवन्ति.

(4) Cf. Civilization in Ancient India Vol. II.

(5) Cf. Ancient Sanskrit literature.

(6) Das Mahābhārata.

(7) Frazer quoted in Cambridge History 'कुरुक्षेत्र was already sacred during the days of ताण्डयत्राह्वण.'

(8) See No. 2 विदेह Genealogy.

(9) Cf. अनुशासन, म-भा. The account is partly corroborated by तै. ब्रा. 15. 3. 7. दिवोदासं वै भरद्वाजपुरोहितं नानाजनाः पर्यथतन्त  
स उपासांददृषे गातुम्मो विन्देति तस्मा एतेन साम्ना गातुमविन्दत्।

(10) Cf. अर्थवर्संहिता. The Geneological tree given in सभा० puts परीक्षित् very much low in the line. जनमेजय of शतपथ and जनमेजय the grandson of अभिमन्यु are quite different personages.

(11) The complexion of Draupadi is dark as her name, viz. कृष्णा, suggests.

(12) See note 2, the line of जन्हु॒ kings. रा. बाल. gives a different list—कुश → कुशनाम → गाधि → विश्वामित्र. ताण्डय and ऐ. ब्रा. connect विश्वामित्र with the same family (जन्हु॑s).

(13) श. ब्रा. refers to नड (नल) as a famous king of the tribe (निषध॑s). भीम the king of विद्यमान is also mentioned there. This shows that Vedic culture has travelled south of Vindhya mountain. नल and भीम are the same as those described in म. भा — बन.

(14) ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 23. When the priest of a certain king demanded his दक्षिणा the former replied 'When I conquer the उत्तरकुरुं तु थो वृष्टि अनतिदग्धानि वैश्वानरेणेति The order of colonization was कोसल, विदेह, मगध, अङ्ग, वङ्ग and कामरूप.

(16) Cf. Rv. किं ते कृष्णन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुहे न तपन्ति धर्मम्।

(17) तां. ब्रा. 25. 10. 17. King Nāmī (रामायण, निमि) appears as a sacrificer on the bank of सरस्वती. He is the founder of विदेह dynasty.

(18) सिंधुशित् राजन्यर्थि is the author of a hymn of Rv. तां. ब्रा. mentions another King of Sind, दीर्घश्रवस् (12. 12-6).

(19) Cf. रा. बाल.

(20) म. भा. मलं पृथिव्या बाहीकाः etc.

(21) ऐ. ब्रा. पुलिन्द, मूतिब, बर्ब शक.

म. भा. आदि. gives a longer list of Non-Aryan tribes that were sprung from the body of the cow of वसिष्ठ along with their habitations.

सहदेव conquered some of them (सभा०).

(22) श. ब्रा. i. 4. 13.

(23) म. भा. Arjuna married उल्लूपी the Nāga princess for political advantage. क्रक्ष of चन्द्रवंश had contracted a similar match with the daughter of तक्षक, a नारी (Cf. note 2.).

The Nāgas lived in Southern India also (रामा.). ता. ब्रा. records a सर्पसत्र performed by Sarpas where भृतराष्ट्र, ऐरावत, जनमेजय, अर्जुद (काद्रवेय) and others acted the part of priests. सर्पसत्र of जनमेजय described in म. भा. is different from that of तां. ब्राह्मण. It is quite possible that पर्शित् might have been captured in war and offered as a victim to the Gods by Nāgas (Sarpas). जनमेजय avenged his father's death by offering hundreds of Sarpas at the sacrifice. He must have made them captives after attacking their stronghold viz. Taxilā. पाताल { (पतञ्जलः) = lower Sind } was a Nāga-Sarpa colony (cf. म. भा. उच्चोगा०).

(24) रा. iv. 41. भोगवती the capital of Sarpas lay to the south of Ceylon. Vāsuki was their greatest ruler. They appear to be the earlier settlers of India in comparison with the Nāgas. नैमिषारण्य on गोमतीतीर was haunted by them.

(25) Cf. अपहतासुरारक्षासि वेदिगतः, राक्षोऽप्सूर्क in Rv. etc.....

(26) ऐ. ब्रा. ते दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः see note 21.

(27) अश्वमेध or राजसूय was performed by a great king. The feudatory princes had to make contributions to defray the expenses and attend in person. ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 21.

(28) When विश्वकर्मन् भौवन् gave a piece of land to काश्यप (his priest) the earth protested: 'No man whatever ought to

give me...I shall plunge into the middle of the water. Vain was this thy pact with काश्यप.' Cf. श. ब्रा. xiii. 7. 1. 15.

(29) अथर्ववेद vii. 12. 1. सभा च समितिश्वावतां प्रजापतेर्दुहितरौ संविदाने ।

श. ब्रा. xii. 9. 3. records that पौसायन was expelled from the throne owing to his misrule. In xiii. 22. An oppressive king is denounced राष्ट्रविशमत्ति...विशंघातुकः ।

(30) ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 15, श. ब्रा. ( iii. 3. 3 ) describes तनूनप्त्र ceremony. It was a sacred covenant between various individuals or groups who accepted the rule of one chief. The five groups of gods take mutual oath to stand by each other and accept Indra as their overlord. वायु ( तनूनप्त्र = vital breath ) is a witness to this holy transaction. The sacrificer-king represents Indra and the priests represent the remaining deities. Cf. अथातः समस्तान्ति एव पुतद्वदेवा भूयः समामिरे इत्थं नः सोऽमुथासत् यो न पृतदत्तिक्रामात्. A curse is pronounced against any one who would turn a traitor. The ceremony is called सत्यं साम and देवजं साम.

(31) जै. ब्रा. iii. शार्यातो मानवो ग्रामेणाध्यवास्यत् म. भा. सभा. सिन्धुकूलश्रिता ये च ग्रामणीया महाबलाः । Megasthenes mentions small republics as well as bigger ones. Sabarcae a powerful tribe ( गण ) had an army of 60000 soldiers, 6000 horses and 500 chariots. कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र ( xi. 1 ) enumerates the following people who enjoyed a republican form of Government : लिङ्घिविक, वृजिक, मल्क, मद्रक, कुकुर, कुरुपाञ्चाल. म. भा. शत्र्य० शात्र्य is called श्लेष्ठगणाधिप.

(32) Muzumdar's corporate life in Ancient India.

(33) म. भा. शां. भेदादिनाशः संघानां संघमुख्योऽसि केशव Another hint given to the Gaṇas is न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत.

(34) म. भा. आदि. आचार्यस्त्रिविधा योनी राज्ञां शास्त्रविनिश्चये ।

सत्कुलीनश्च शूरश्च यश्च सेनां प्रकर्षति ॥

देवापि the elder brother of शन्तनु was disqualified for his leprosy and his coronation was cancelled. धृतराष्ट्र was set aside for his blindness. Cf. Rv. iii, 5-7, श. ब्रा. iii. 4. 17 and xiii. 2-2-18.

(35) After the death of दशरथ, it was proposed by some that कौसल्या should be invested with regal powers. Nobody paid any attention to this, thinking that it would be only a temporary measure ( रा. अयो० ). म. भा. makes a reference to श्रीराज्य, but it was not an Aryan kingdom.

(36) There are exceptions to this rule. यथाति deprived his elder sons of the right to the throne and appointed पुरु the youngest son as his successor. See also note (34).

(37) Out of this list of twelve, 3, 4 and 5 are the wives of the King. What functions were exercised by them in the body politic is not clear. The remaining nine are concerned with the various departments of the State.

(38) कैक्षीयी and कौसल्या in Rāmāyaṇa and Draupadi in Mahābhārata wield indirect influence over the course of State affairs. नारद warns धर्म against the danger of स्त्रीबल. The influence worked through subterranean channels and as such it was difficult to withstand or resist it.

(39) रा. ii. 100. The chief minister, Purohita and the Crown-prince are to be excluded from surveillance

The other officers (eleven) are

1 The Door-keeper, 2 Superintendent of the harem, 3 Inspector of prisons, 4 Pay-master (civil), 5 Pay-master (military), 6 Officer in-charge of the Assembly (सभा), 7 Chief Justice, 8 Superintendent of Police, 9 Officer in-charge of forts, 10 Officer in charge of frontier stations, 11 Officer in charge of internal defence.

Cf. कौ. अर्थ. where he makes no exception against the Crown-prince.

(40) म. भा. शा. 85. The eight ministers may be identical with the cabinet-members mentioned on page 11. Or it may be a different body acting as the standing committee of the Legislative Council.

(41) According to कौ. अर्थ. The strength of the Legislative Council varied with the size and population of any State. The decision of the majority was to be accepted by the king. रा. vi. 63 advises the kings to be on their guard at the time of selecting men for ministerships. Cf. अशास्त्राविदुपां तैषां काय नाभिहितं वचः। अर्थशास्त्रानभिज्ञानां विपुलां श्रियमिन्दृता ॥.....अवश्यं मन्त्रवाद्यास्ते कर्तव्याः कृथदूपकाः।

(42) मनु vii. 116-117. म. भा. शा. gives the same arrangement with the addition of नागरिक to look after the city. As regards the duties of a नागरिक cf. का. अर्थ. नागरिकप्रणिधि. The title स्थपति may refer to the ruler of 1000 villages, cf. श. शा. The five officers

in the villages are प्रशास्तु (Headman), समाहर्तु (messenger), संविधाता (Accountant), लेखक (Scribe), साक्षी (Public prosecutor), cf. म. भा. i. 113.

(43) Local customs had the force of law and they were upheld by the king. A man accepted the bride's money (शुल्क) the village court fined him. On appeal to the higher court the fine was refunded and the plea of the accused viz. it was a custom in his family (to accept शुल्क) was accepted as valid.

(44) Cf. Corporate life in Ancient India.

(45) वा. धर्मसूत्र. iii. 4.

(46) रा. बाल. म. भा. सभा. cf. छान्दोग्य v. 11 'न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः नानाहिताभिर्नाविद्वाऽन्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कृतः।' The ideal State in the epic is more luxurious because of its greater prosperity. Drink and women (courtezans and harlots) stand out prominently in this period. Cf. कौ. अर्थ० on Prostitutes and drinking saloons.

म. भा. शा. न केनचिद्याचितव्यं कश्चित्कस्यांचिदापदि ।

इति व्यवस्था भूतानां पुरस्तान्मनुना कृता ॥

(47) म. भा. सगर deserts his own son for his wickedness.

(48) मनु, कौटिल्य and the epics (in fact all Brahmanical writers) lay special emphasis on चातुर्वर्णरक्षण and चतुराश्रमरक्षण. Together they form the keystone in the arch of social life.

(49) रा. vii. 45 कीर्त्यं तु समारभः सर्वेषां सुमहात्मनाम् अप्येतं जीवितं जहाम्...म. भा. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि...आच्छेताचानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।

(50) म. भा. शा. तस्मान्मिश्रेण सततं वर्तितव्यं युधिष्ठिर । कौटिल्य recommends त्रयीसंवरण for actions of the king; the object is to disarm all opposition. शान्ति० advises him to placate people by performance of sacrifices and other charitable acts (दर्भनार्थं हि लौकस्य धर्मिष्टामाचरेऽक्रियाम् ।).

(51) म. भा. सभा see नारद's questionaire कञ्चित् श्रहधास्यासां कञ्चिद्गुह्यं न भाष्यते । The exemption originally applied to learned Brahmins only. कौटि. अर्थ. धर्मार्थयोरविरोधेन कामं सैवेत् ।

(52) म. भा. वन. Three kings present their budgets to अगस्त्य to convince him of their inability to spend more money for a charitable purpose. They seem to consider themselves as

fiduciaries (not the owners as some Indian princes think) of the State property. In उद्योग० गरुड remarks to गालव “अपीड्य राजा पौराणि यो नौ कुर्यात्कृतार्थिनौ ।”

(53) म. भा. गुद्धदृष्टिवैकालीनः इवचेष्टः सिंहविक्रमः ।

अनुद्विजः काकशङ्की भुजङ्गचरितं चरेत् ॥

(54) ऐ. ब्रा. Cf. ऐन्द्रमहाभिषेक श. ब्रा. (note 30). मनु, नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः । रा. महती देवता हेष नरस्वेण तिष्ठति ।

(55) King वैन's incident is older than the epic.

(56) During the Brāhmaṇa period the kings were entirely dependent on the support of their clan. Cf. Feudal system in Europe. A standing army, paid regularly, considerably strengthened the hands of the rulers.

(57) ऐ. ब्रा. शुनदशेपकथा. ता. ब्रा. 16. 1. 12. वीरहा वा एष देवानां यः सोममभिषुणोति याः (गावः) शर्ते वैरं तदेवानवदयते । म. भा. अश्वमेघ. वीरं हि क्षत्रियं हित्वा गोशतेन प्रमुच्यते । This practice persists down to this day in Afghanistan, a country where Aryan culture and traditions flourished in ancient times.

(58) म. भा. अश्व०. Patricide was severely dealt with.

The murderer covered himself in father's skin and wore the skull round his neck. Twelve years had to be spent in asceticism in this fashion. बौधायनसूत्र recommends 1000 cows for the murder of a क्षत्रिय, 100 for a वैश्य and 10 for a शूद्र. One bull was given to the State (King) for breach of peace.

(59) तै. ब्रा. iii. 2. 8. तद् ब्रह्महण्ण नात्यच्यवत् । Cf. the effect of ब्रह्महत्या on इन्द्र. म. भा. उद्योग. तै. ब्रा. and ऐ. ब्रा.

म. भा. शा. विधीयते न शारीरं दण्डमेषां कथं चन ।

A Brahman thief was considered to be a serious reflection on the King's Government.

(60) प्रजापति's incest with his daughter (ऐ. ब्रा. श. ब्रा.) रा. (iv.18) adds intercourse with younger brother's wife to the list.—

औरसीं भगिनीं भार्या वाप्यनुजस्य यः प्रचरेत नरः कामात्तस्य दण्डो वधः स्मृतः । Cf. Rv. x. the dialogue between यम and यमी. This was looked upon as a heinous sin yet there is no mention of capital punishment for it in Rv. or ब्राह्मण०s.

(61) म. भा. शा. लिखित was punished with amputation of his arm which plucked the fruit of a tree owned by his brother in his absence without permission.

**पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र** prescribes a curious penance for adultery. the culprit kills an ass and puts on his skin. He then goes about declaring his sin to every person he meets. A गुह्तलयग cut off his genital organ and wandered as a recluse for life.

(62) In the case of a prince adultery and stealing Brahman's wealth are punished with exile (ग. ii. 72). म. भा. शा. prescribes penance for two years for the former offence. Another form of punishment during the epic period was to keep an adulterer in a dry pit or well for a year. Cf. The etymology of the word कौपिनि. Polyandry is declared unlawful and it is a thing to be abhorred. It is on the same footing as adultery. म. भा. सभा. कर्ण declares द्वौपदीं a harlot (बन्धकी) in the eye of the law. Cf. The protest of खृश्चुत्र and his father द्रुपदि before द्वौपदी's marriage.

Among unnatural offences आस्यमैथुन is noted in म. भा. Throughout Vedic and epic literature there is no reference to sodomy, a fact worthy of notice. Masterbation is alluded to in स्मृतिस (अवकीर्णी) indirectly and directly in वात्स्यायनकामसूत्र.

(63) Cf. The episode of ब्रह्मजाया who was kidnapped. (Rv.) The same story is repeated in म. भा. Cf. तारा's unlawful intimacy with the moon. श. ब्रा. ii. 4. 3. The wife of a sacrificer is to declare her guilt so that the burden of sin may be light (निरुक्त वा एनः कनीयो भवते !). याज्ञवल्क्य shows the same leniency to women (Cf. आचाराध्याय).

(64) रा. उत्तरर० शम्बुक's punishment for practising penance. ऐ. ब्रा. ii. 19 Exile of कवषएरुष for his participation at a sacrifice. The death of यन्ति on whom hyenas were let loose by इन्द्र (इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छन् repeated frequently in ता. ब्रा.). They were punished for their heresy (or atheism ?) To disguise oneself as a man belonging to a higher caste, concealing one's true caste, is also a serious crime. Such crimes must have been frequently committed by ambitious men of low birth as the society afforded them little scope in their own sphere. Cf. The dishonour to which कर्ण was subjected at the time of द्वौपदी's स्वयंवर and the tournaments of हस्तिनापुर simply owing to his alleged low status in society. The evil was less pernicious so long as the three castes married frequently amongst themselves and formed a compact body. Only Shūdras suffered from social disabilities. The growth of the evil led to Eudhistic Revolution

which tried to break down the social structure based on prerogatives of birth.

(65) कौषीतकि ब्रा. The mutual oath at the time of coronation Cf. शा. ब्रा. तामूलनप्त्र म भा. व पुष्कर issued a proclamation prohibiting citizens and other subjects from having any dealing whatsoever (of a friendly or sympathetic character) towards their ex-king नल who was exiled.

(66) कौ. अर्थ.

(67) बह. स्मृति and गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

(68) Cf. The conviction of कवपणेल्लूप ऐ. ब्रा.

(69) मनु xii. 110-113 the composition is as follows 3 वैदिकs, 1 नैथायिक, 1 सीमांसक, 1 नैरुक्त, 1 स्मार्त, 1 ब्राह्मचारिन् (नैषिक?), 1 गृहस्थ and 1 वानप्रस्थ = (10).

(70) Cf. The Supreme Court of U. S. A. as a parallel.

(71) म. भा. वन.

(i) अबुद्धिमाणितानं तु क्षन्तव्यमपराधिनाम् (This covers accidental injury or death. Cf. The case of the of a Brahman boy in ब्राह्मण lit.)

(ii) सर्वस्यैकोऽपराधस्ते क्षन्तव्यः द्वितीये सति वध्यस्तु स्वल्पेष्यपकृते भवेत्।

(iii) जानता तु क्षतं पापं गुरु सर्वं भवत्युत etc.

शान्ति (iv) आततायो हि यो हन्यादाततायिनमागतम् न तेन भ्रूगहा स स्यात्। Cf. मनु. गुरुं वा वालवृद्धं वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन्।

(72) जैनकल्पसूत्र लिङ्छविस and शाक्यas had such a Judicial System. It afforded the maximum safety and fairness to the accused person.

(73) रा. ii. 80. Geologists, diggers, guides, engineers, builders, woodcutters etc. go ahead of troops to prepare the road for an army when the way lies through a Jungle or hilly tract.

(74) Axe was the favourite weapon of परशुराम. Cf. पृथुपर्शवः Rv. in the fight of ten kings. म. भा. उद्योग, तोमर, कुठार, मुद्रर, शक्ति, गदा, असि etc. were used by the infantry. Tips of तोमरs were poisoned.

(75) म. भा. ii. 61.

(76) Each अक्षौहिणी contains 21870 chariots and elephants. It is divided into ten divisions. A division is progressively split up into 3 parts until the lowest unit (पत्ति) is reached.

कौ. अर्थ० gives different kinds of armies and discusses their relative utility. Cf. मित्रबल, कुप्यबल, अटवीबल, भृतबल and श्रेणीबल. भृत(paid)बल is the best. श्रेणीबल comes next. It is better than मित्रबल which stands third.

- (77) रा. ii. 100. Besides pay they received rations.
- (78) म. भा. उद्योग. Cf. The proportion of कौरव-पाण्डवसेना.
- (79) म. भा. शान्ति.
- (80) रघुवंश iv. The Angas had a strong fleet.

(नौसाधनोद्यतान् अङ्गान् ।) In ब्राह्मण literature we hardly meet with any reference to a naval force. Here and there we find boats mentioned (ऐत्रा, यज्ञो वै सुतर्मा नौ वाग्वै etc.). Rgvedic period was more active in sea-faring than the ब्राह्मणs. Cf. वसिष्ठ's prayer to वरुण (Rv. vii.). Also the hymn to Uṣas (Rv. i) ये अस्या आचरणेषु दधिरे समुद्रे न श्रवस्यवः। There is a distinct reference here to a merchant fleet. The Indian sea-board was mostly occupied by Non-Aryan kingdoms. It is curious that राम did not think of using ships to cross the sea, but built a colossal bridge instead. We may infer that the art of navigation received a set-back after Vedic (early) age.

- (81) मनु vii. 114.
- (82) मनु vii. 130, 137 & 138.
- (83) See note (82). Corvée was current in the epic period.  
रा. ii. 127. विद्युरनेकसाहस्री चोदयामास पार्थिवः।
- (84) म. भा. ii. 5.

(85) See note 58. The coins came into vogue during the later part of the epic. During ब्राह्मण period the cow served as the measure of wealth. Cf. कौ. अर्थ. on different grades of fine : पूर्व-साहस, उत्तमसाहस, मध्यमसाहस according to the gravity of offence.

(86) म. भा. vi. cf. गोधन of king विराट also वन० स्मारणे समयः प्राप्तो वस्तानामपि चाङ्गनम्। कौ. अर्थ. gives minute details about the management of a cattle farm owned by the State. The profession was looked upon as a monopoly of वैश्यs.

For a set of six cows that he managed he received milk of one cow. In addition to this he got two per cent of the total increment of the live-stock per annum. कौ. अर्थ. gives further details about the distribution of skin, hide, horns and hoof of the dead animals.

substance Clay, which is called 'potsherd', out of which the Jar is produced, is 'perceptible'. One who would deny such a patent fact could never be argued with by any person.

The truth of the matter is as we have described.

*End of Section (3)*

SECTION (4)

Sūtra 14—18

*Examination of the Theory that the Things of the World are produced out of the Void.*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

We now proceed to show up the views of philosophers (of several schools)—\*

Sūtra 14

**"Entities are produced out of Negation; as no object comes into existence without having destroyed (its cause)."**

BHĀSYA

"One theory is that the *entity* is produced out of *negation*;—Why?—Because things are produced only after having destroyed (something); e.g. the sprout is produced only after the seed has been destroyed; and not till the seed is destroyed. If the '*destruction* of the seed' were not the cause of the sprout, then it would be possible for the sprout to come into existence even without destroying the seed."†

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The answer to the above is given in the following Sūtra :—

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\* The *Parīsuddhi* calls Sections 4–11 '*Aupodghātika*', 'Introductory', or (more correctly) 'Supplementary', to the Section putting forward the theory that 'perceptible things are produced out of perceptible things'.

It is interesting to note that the purely theistic doctrine of God having created the world has been put by Gautama among these 'views' held apparently by other people. It is in view of this that the *Vārtika* has remarked that the Author of the Sūtra has put forward these various views of doctrines here;—'some of these are set forth for being criticised, and others are put up as accepted'. The *Tātparya*, the *Parīsuddhi* and the *Prakāśa* however do not admit this view. (See below, Note on Sec. 5.)

† Whenever an object is produced, its production is always preceded by the destruction of its material cause. Hence every object has for its cause this *Destruction*, and *Destruction* is a form of *negation*.

*Sūtra 15*

**The reasoning put forward is unsound ; as it involves self-contradiction.**

## BHĀSYA

The premiss—‘because there is no production without destruction’—is unsound ; as it involves self-contradiction. That which *destroys* (the cause) cannot be said to come into existence *after that destruction* ; since it must have been already in existence [in order to be able to destroy the cause ; that which is itself non-existent cannot destroy anything] ;—and that which comes into existence (*after destruction* of the cause) was not in existence before, and being non-existent, it could not destroy the cause [consequently the assertion that ‘the thing comes into existence after destroying the cause’ is self-contradictory].

*Sūtra 16*

[*Not comprehending the purport of the Siddhāntin’s argument, in Sū. 15 the Nihilist says*]—

**“ What has been urged is not right ; for, as a matter of fact, words denoting the case-relations are applied to past as well as future things.”**

## BHĀSYA

[Says the Opponent]—“ As a matter of fact words denoting the case-relations are used in regard to past as well as future things , e.g. ‘ the son shall be born ’ , [where the *future* son is in the *Nominative case*] ,—‘ he rejoices at the son to be born ’ , [where the *future* son is in the *Accusative Case*] ,—‘ he appoints the name of the son to be born ’ [where the *future* son is in the *Genitive case*] .—‘ the Jar existed ’ [where the *past* Jar is in the *Nominative case*] ,—‘ he is sorry for the broken Jar ’ [where the *past* Jar is in the *Accusative case*] ,—‘ these postherds are of the broken Jar ’ [where the *past* Jar is in the *Genitive case*] .—Sons, not being born, are a source of anxiety, to the old Father,\* [where the *future* son is in the *Nominative case*] ;—we find several instances of such secondary (figurative) usage. ‘ What is the primary basis of this secondary usage ? ’ Immediate sequence is the primary basis : and on this basis of ‘immediate sequence’, what the ex-

\* The *Vārtika* reads स्थाविर which gives better sense.

pression ‘comes into existence after having destroyed’ means is that ‘when *going to come into existence*, the sprout destroys the seed’; and the Nominative character (of the Sprout, not yet born) is purely secondary (or figurative).”

### Sūtra 17

[Answer]—[Even so] the view put forth cannot be accepted; because as a matter of fact there is no production out of things destroyed.

#### BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, the Sprout is *not* produced out of the *destroyed* seed. Hence it is not true that “Entities are produced out of negation” (as alleged in Sū. 14).\*

### Sūtra 18

In so far as ‘Sequence’ is mentioned,—this we do not deny.

#### BHĀSYA

The fact that the ‘coming into existence’ (of the sprout) is preceded by the ‘destruction’ (of the seed) constitutes their ‘sequence’; and in so far as this ‘sequence’ has been put forward (by the Opponent) as the reason (probans) for the proposition that “Entities are produced out of negation”;—this ‘sequence’ we do not deny; all that we mean is that, when the composition of the particles becomes disturbed, the previous combination ceases and another combination takes its place; and it is out of this latter combination,—and not out of *negation*—that the next substance is produced. What happens is that the component particles of the Seed have aroused within them a certain vibration by reason of some (unknown) cause,—whereupon they abandon their previous combination and take upon another; and it is from this latter combination that the sprout is produced; in fact

\* If the ‘destruction of the seed’ were the cause of the birth of the sprout,—then, how is it that we find no sprout appearing when the seed is broken up into pieces by the hammer, and the disrupted component pieces do not form another composite? And how is it that the sprout appears only when the disruption of the seed is followed by a fresh composite formed out of its disjointed component pieces? These facts clearly show that the birth of the sprout does not arise out of the ‘destruction’ of the seed—*Tātparya*.

we actually see that the 'particles of the seed' and their 'composition' constitute the causes of the production of the Sprout; and unless the previous combination has been *destroyed*, it is not possible for another combination to come into existence;—this is all that constitutes the 'sequence' between 'Destruction' and 'coming into existence';—but this cannot prove that "Entities are produced out of Negation" (as alleged by the *Pūrvapakṣin*). And inasmuch as, for the production of the sprout there is no other cause except the component particles of the seed, it is only right that the seed should be admitted as the cause of the Sprout.\*

#### *End of Section 4*

#### SECTION (5)

#### SŪtras 19–21

#### *Examination of the Theory that God is the Cause of the Universe.*†

\* Because, says the *Tātparya*, unless the seed is there, the component particles of the seed cannot be there.

† In regard to this *Section* there is a difference among Commentators. According to the *Bhāṣya*, the *Vārtika* and *Viśvanātha*, it is meant to propound the *Naiyāyika Siddhānta* that the Universe has been created by God; and in accordance with this view, Sū. 19 puts forward the final *Siddhānta*. Sū. 20 puts forward an objection against the *Siddhānta* and Sū. 21 answers that objection from the stand-point of the *Siddhānta*. It is this interpretation that we have adopted in the translation.

In view, perhaps, of the fact that such an interpretation of the Section is inconsistent with the introductory assertion of the previous *Bhāṣya*—'we now proceed to show up the views of philosophers',—the *Tātparya*, followed by the *Parīśuddhi* and *Prakāśa*, has taken it as representing the criticism of the *Vedānta* doctrine that "God is the *constituent cause* of the Universe." By this interpretation Sū. 19 represents the *Vedānta* view, Sū. 20 shows the untenability of that view, and Sū. 21 puts forward the final *Nyāya-Siddhānta* that God is the *creator*, the *operative cause*, *not* the *constituent cause*, of the Universe.

There is also a wider issue involved in this Section. The Commentators are agreed that the *Siddhānta* view here put forward is that God is the Creator of the Universe. Now the question arises—How is it that this cardinal doctrine of the system has been inserted by Gautama as a side-issue? He has put it forward only among "certain philosophical doctrines", and not as the *true doctrine*. Nor is it easy to reconcile the doctrine of God being the *Creator* with the view that there is no such thing as 'beginning of

Another philosopher says—

*Sūtra 19*

**God is the cause ; because we find fruitlessness in the actions of Men.**

**BHĀSYA**

As a matter of fact, we find that Man, desiring a certain thing, does not always obtain the fruit of his desire ; hence it is inferred that Man's acquisition of the fruits of his actions is dependent upon some other person ; and that Person upon whom it is dependent is *God* ; hence it follows that God is the Cause (of the World).\*

*Sūtra 20*

[ *Objection\** ]—“It is not so ; because as a matter of fact, no fruit appears without man's action.”

Creation’—as is often found re-iterated by the *Vārtika* (e.g. on P. 445 and P. 466, Bib. Ind. Ed.) ; if there is no beginning, God may be the *Controller*, the *Ruler* ; He cannot be the *Creator*. From the *Bhāṣya* also (under Sū. 21) it seems that *God is held to be only the Seer, Knower, Omniscient, All-powerful*.

\* According to the *Tātparya* this *Sūtra* presents the *Vedānta* view that God is the *constituent cause* of the world ; the *Parīsuddhi* remarks that though the *Sūtra* has used the general term ‘cause’, yet it is clear from the context that the constituent ‘cause’ is meant. *Vardhamāna*—From this *Pūrvapakṣa Sūtra* it is clear that the purpose of the Section is to refute the *Vedānta*-theory.’ In support of this view is also the fact that the preceding section also has dealt with the question of the *constituent cause* of the world.

The *Vedānta* doctrine is thus stated by the *Tātparya*—“The phenomenal world may not have come out of the Void ; it can certainly be produced out of Brahman, which becomes modified into the several names and forms [i.e. *objects* and their *qualities*, says *Vardhamāna*] , exactly in the same manner as the clay is modified into the Jar etc. ; or (according to other *Vedāntins*) Brahman, through the limitations cast by the beginning-less Nescience, appears in the form of the several phenomenal substances, just as the face appears in several forms, through the limitations of the substances in which it becomes reflected. It is this *Brahman* that is meant by the term ‘*Īśvara*’, in the *Sūtra* ; this term connoting the powers of reflection and action, both of which are present in Brahman alone ; and not in *Negation*, or in *Primordial Matter*, or in *Atoms*. Man himself does not possess these powers. But if Man were the ordainer of the World, and had the necessary properties of omniscience and omnipotence, then he could never undertake an action that would turn out to be futile, fruitless. And *inasmuch as we do find the actions of Men turning out fruitless, we conclude that God,—i.e. Brahman—is the Cause of the World.* Sū. (19)”

## BHĀSYA

[*Objection*] :—“ If the appearance of fruits (of actions) were dependent upon God (entirely), then such fruits could be accomplished even without the desire (and action) of man.”

## Sūtra 21

[*Answer*]—Inasmuch as it is influenced by Him, there is no force in the reason (put forward).†

\* According to the *Bhāṣya* this Sūtra is an objection urged by the Pūrvapakṣin, against the Nyāya doctrine stated in Sū. 19. According to the *Tātparya*, it is an objection urged by the *Siddhāntin Naiyāyika*, against the Vedānta doctrine stated in Sū. 19. In pursuance of this interpretation, the *Tātparya* introduces this Sū. 20 as follows :—It puts forth arguments against the Vedānta theory of things evolving or modifying out of Brahman, and concludes with the assertion that it is not right to hold that Brahman evolves or modifies into the endless phenomenal substances, and as such is the *constituent cause* of things ; though it may be that Brahman or God is the *operative cause* of things ;—and then it goes on to say that in connection with the view that God is the *operative cause* of things, it might be held that in creating the world, God is not influenced by any other force ;—and it is with a view to guard against this view that we have Sū. 20, which shows that God is influenced by the actions of men.

It may be noted that the roundabout manner in which the *Tātparya* has got to fit in the Sūtra to its own interpretation shows that it is, perhaps, not what the Sūtras really mean ; that is, the Sūtras have no bearing upon the Vedānta theory at all.

† The *Tātparya*, in pursuance of its own interpretation, remarks :—‘Having rejected the two theories—(1) that the World is evolved out of Brahman, and (2) that God, independent of all other forces, is the Creator of the world,—the author of the Sūtra now puts forward his own final *Siddhānta*.’

According to the *Bhāṣya*, this Sūtra is only the Naiyāyika’s answer to the objection urged in Sū. 20 ; the sense being that—‘inasmuch as Man’s efforts are influenced by God, what has been urged in Sū. 20, against the view that God is the *operative cause* of the world, is not a valid reason.’

The *Nyāya-Siddhānta* is thus expounded by the *Tātparya* :—The World has the Atoms for its *constituent cause* ; and its *operative cause* is God as influenced by Men’s acts ; and these acts also have God for their *operative cause* ; nor is there any incongruity in this ; since even though the carpenter is helped and influenced by the axe, yet the axe also is made by him. The reason put forward in Sū. 20 has no force against the view that the world is the work of God as helped by Men’s acts, though it is an effective argument against the view that in creating the world, God does not require the help of anything outside Himself.

## BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, God helps the effort of Man ; *i. e.*, when Man is trying to obtain a particular fruit; it is God that accomplishes that fruit for him ; when God does not accomplish it, Man’s action becomes fruitless ;—hence since things are thus influenced by God, what has been urged to the effect that—“because as a matter of fact no fruit appears without man’s action”—is no reason at all.

[The question now arises—What is *God*? The *Bhāṣya* proceeds to answer this question]—God is a distinct Soul endowed with certain qualities ; as a Being of the same kind as ‘Soul’. He cannot be put under any other category ; hence God is defined as a particular Soul endowed with such qualities as—(1) absence of demerit, wrong knowledge and negligence, and (2) presence of merit, knowledge and intuitiveness ; and to Him also belongs, the eight-fold ‘Power’—consisting of ‘minuteness’ and the rest—as the result of His Merit and Knowledge ;—His ‘Merit’ follows the bent of his Volition ;—He controls the operation of the accumulated Merit-Demerit subsisting in each individual Soul, as also that of the Earth and other material substances ; and He is Omnipotent in regard to His creation, not however, failing to be influenced by the results of acts done by the beings He creates.

He has obtained\* all the results of His deeds ; [and continues to act for the sake of His created beings, because] just as the father acts for His children, so does God also act father-like for His creatures. There is no other category except the category of ‘Soul’ to which God could belong ; for (as in the case of Soul so) in the case of God, no other property, save *Buddhi*, Consciousness, can be pointed out as being indicative of His existence.† From scriptures also we

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\* Puri Ms. B. reads आसकमफल instead of आसकल्प, which latter is the reading adopted by the *Tātparya* and in our text ; this latter also explains आसकल्प as अवाससकलकाम ; so that the sense remains the same under both readings.

† Though God differs from other Souls in the point of His Cognition etc. being eternal, while those of others are evanescent, yet He must be classed under the same category ; since, like other Souls, He also is indicated by *Buddhi* etc.

learn that God is the 'Seer, the Cogniser and omniscient'. If God were not discernible by the presence of Consciousness and such other indicatives of the 'Soul', then, as He is beyond the reach of ordinary Perception, Inference and Words, how could His existence be described and proved by anyone?

Lastly, if God acted irrespectively of the effects of acts done by the beings created by Him, then, this view would become open to all those objections that have been urged against the view that "the creation is not due to the acts of Souls". [*Vide*, end of I Daily Lesson, Adhyāya III].

### *End of Section (5)*

## SECTION (6)

(*Sūtras 22-24*)

*Examination of the View that the World is the result of Chance.*

### INTRODUCTORY BHĀŚYA

Another philosopher asserts as follows :—

### *Sūtra 22*

"The production of entities must be without an *operative cause*; as we see such things as the sharpness of the thorn and the like."

### BHĀŚYA

"The Body and such other entities must be regarded as produced without an *operative cause*; since we see such things as the sharpness of the thorn and the like; such things as the sharpness of the thorn, the variegated colour of the minerals found in mountainous regions, the smoothness of stones and so forth are found to be produced without any *operative cause*, and yet each of them has a constituent cause;\* the same must be the case with the production of the Body etc., also."

\* चोपादान of the *Viz.* text gives no sense; the right reading is चोपादानवर्त्त्व, which is countenanced by the *Vārtika*, and is found in the Puri Ms. B.

It is clear that what the *Pūrvapakṣin* denies in the present Sūtra is the Nyāya-theory of God being the *operative cause* of the world; the Sūtra distinctly mentions the '*nimitta*', and the *Bhāṣya* makes it still clearer by

*Sūtra 23*

[The Ekadeśin’s answer to the *Pūrvapakṣa*.]

**Since the non-cause is (spoken of as) the ‘cause’, the said production of entities is not ‘without cause’.**

## BHĀSYA

[Some Naiyāyikas have offered this as an answer to the *Pūrvapakṣa* view expressed in Sū. 22]. It is alleged (in Sū. 22) that ‘*bhāvotpatti*’, the ‘production of entities’, is ‘*animittataḥ*’ ; [and since this latter term ends in an affix which has the sense of the Ablative, it can only mean that the ‘production’ proceeds from ‘*animitta*’, ‘non-cause’] ; and that from which a thing proceeds is its ‘cause’ ; so that since (from what is said in Sū. 22 it is clear that) the ‘*animitta*’, ‘non-cause’, is the ‘cause’ of the ‘production of entities’, it follows that the said ‘production’ is not ‘without cause’ (as is alleged by the *Pūrvapakṣin*).

*Sūtra 24*

**‘Nimitta’ (Cause) and ‘Animitta’ (‘Non-cause’) being two distinct things, the answer (offered in Sū. 23) is no answer at all.**

## BHĀSYA

‘*Nimitta*’, *Cause*, is one thing, and its negation (*animitta*) (‘Non-cause’) is another ; and the *negation* cannot be the same as the *negated* ; e. g. when it is said that ‘the vessel is *without water*’, this *denial of water* is not the same as *water*. [So that

saying that the things mentioned—the sharpness of the thorn etc.—*have a constituent cause*, and yet they have no operative cause. Thus explained, the present section becomes connected naturally with the foregoing section dealing with God as the *operative cause* of the world. In their anxiety to connect this section with what they consider the principal subject of the *Adhyāya*—the constituent cause of the world—the commentators have needlessly confused the issues involved. E.g., the *Parīsuddhi* says—“The *Pūrvapakṣin* proceeds to criticise the *Siddhānta* position (put forward under Sū. 4-1-11) that perceptible things are produced out of perceptible causes ; and for demolishing this view he begins with the demolition of the *operative cause*—”; and Vardhamāna adds that in reality the *Pūrvapakṣin*’s standpoint is to deny all kinds of cause of the world. Viśvanātha also says—“If things are due to mere *chance*, then Atoms cannot be the constituent cause, nor God the *operative cause*, of the World [hence the *Pūrvapakṣin* insists upon the *Chance-theory*, and the *Siddhāntin* controverts it].”

there is no point in saying, as the *Ekades'in* has said in Sū. 23, that the 'animitta', 'non-cause', is the 'nimitta', 'cause', of production.]

[The real answer to the *Pūrvapakṣa* put forward in Sū. 22 is that] the view therein put forward in no way differs from the view that 'the origination of the Body etc. is not due to the actions of men'; and being identical with this view, it must be taken as refuted by the refutation of that view, (under Sūtras 3. 2. 60-72).

### *End of Section (6)*

#### :SECTION (7)

(Sūtras 25-28)

*Examination of the view that All Things are evanescent.*

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

Other philosophers have held the following view:—

#### *Sūtra 25*

"All things must be evanescent; because they are liable to be produced and destroyed."\*

"What is the meaning of being 'evanescent'? That which exists only for some time is called 'evanescent'. "That which is

\* The causes, out of which the things of the world are produced,—do they consist of all evanescent things; or of all eternal things; or of some eternal and some evanescent things? This is what is going to be considered now. If the first two alternatives are true, then there can be no 'Rebirth', such as the *Naiyāyika* postulates. Hence it becomes necessary to refute them; and the present Section proceeds to refute the first of the three alternatives. The position controverted here is not the same as that in which all things are held to be momentary; because the *Pūrvapakṣin* here admits some sort of continuity of existence of things and as such differs from the thorough-going *Kṣaṇabhaṅgavādin* Nihilist—*Parisuddhi*.

*Vardhamāna*, in view of what he has said in connection with the preceding Section, says—Though what has been proved in the foregoing Section is that the things of the world have an *operative* cause, yet what the present Section takes up is the question of eternality or evanescence of all three kinds of cause, because in a general way what has been said in proof of the *operative* cause is applicable to the *constituent* and *non-constituent* causes also. The precise Doubt or question to be dealt with in the present Section is—whether or not *cognisability* is invariably concomitant with *evanescence*.

*Viśvanātha* says—if all things are evanescent, the Soul also should be evanescent; hence it becomes necessary to controvert that view.

*liable to be produced* is *non-existent* while it is not produced, and that which is *liable to be destroyed* is *non-existent* when it has been destroyed ;\* and what this means is that all material things—such as the Body etc.—and all non-material things—Cognition and the rest—both kinds of things are found to be *liable to production and destruction* ; from which it follows that they are all evanescent.”

### Sūtra 26

[The Ekadeśin’s answer to the *Pūrvapakṣa*]—What is asserted cannot be true ; as the ‘evanescence’ itself is eternal.

BHĀSYA

If the *evanescence* of all things is everlasting (eternal), then, by reason of the *eternity* of that ‘evanescence’, it cannot be true that ‘all things are evanescent’ ;—if, on the other hand, the said ‘evanescence’ is not ever-lasting, then while the ‘evanescence’ would be *non-existent*, all things would be *eternal* !

### Sūtra 27

[The Siddhāntin’s objection to the Ekadeśin’s argument in Sū. 26.]

As a matter of fact, the ‘evanescence’ is not eternal ; it is like the destruction of fire after having destroyed the thing burnt by it.

BHĀSYA

The said ‘evanescence’ is not eternal. “How so ?” Just as Fire, after having destroyed the thing burnt by it becomes itself destroyed (extinguished), similarly the ‘evanescence of all things’, after having destroyed all things, becomes itself destroyed. [So that there need be no incongruity in regarding the ‘evanescence’ as ‘non-eternal’.]

\* The *Viz.* edition reads चाविनश्च ; the *Vārtika* (Bib. Ind. edition) and the *Tātparya* read च विनश्च ; we have adopted the latter, as being more in keeping with the sense of the sentence as a whole. With the former reading the sentence would mean—‘that which is liable to be destroyed is never not destroyed.’ Though this will give some sort of sense, yet it would not be in keeping with the rest of the passage. The *Tātparya* construes the *Bhāsyā* to mean—‘things are non-existent after destruction ; hence liability to production and destruction proves that *things exist only for some time*, that is, *they are evanescent*.’

*Sūtra 28*

[ The Final *Siddhānta*. ]

The Eternal cannot be rightly denied ; because the determination (as to a certain thing being eternal or evanescent) must be in accordance with what is actually perceived.

## BHĀSYA

The theory propounded (in Sū. 25) totally denies all 'eternity' ; but the total denial of 'eternity' is not right.—Why?—Because the determination must be in accordance with what is actually perceived. That is, when a certain thing is rightly found to be 'liable to be produced and destroyed', it should be regarded as *evanescent*,—and when a thing is found to be *not so liable*, it must be the reverse ; and as a matter of fact, the said *liability to be produced and destroyed* is not perceived by any means of right knowledge, in such things as the elemental substances in their subtle forms, Akāśa, Time, Space, Soul and Mind,—and some qualities of these,—Community, Individuality and Inherence;—hence the conclusion is that all these are eternal.

*End of Section (7)*

## SECTION (8)

(Sūtras 29–33)

*Examination of the Theory that All Things are Eternal.*

## INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

Here is another sweeping assertion :—

*Sūtra 29*

[*Pūrvapakṣa*.—“All things must be eternal ; because the five elemental substances are eternal.”]

## BHĀSYA

“ All this, everything in the world, is an elemental substance ; and elemental substances are eternal ; the total destruction of any elemental substance being impossible (according to the Naiyāyika himself) [ everything must be eternal ]. ”

\* If all things are eternal, there can be no Re-birth, as Re-birth presupposes the destruction of the Body. Hence it is necessary to controvert this view.

*Sūtra 30*

**What has been asserted cannot be right ; as we actually perceive the cause of production and of destruction.**

BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact, we actually perceive the cause of the production (of things), as well as the cause of (their) destruction; and this would be incompatible with the view that all things are eternal.\*

*Sūtra 31*

[*Objection*]—“Inasmuch as all things possess the characteristics of elemental substances, the denial (in Su. 30) is not right.”

BHĀSYA

“ The thing, of which you think you perceive the causes of production and destruction, is not found to be anything totally different from, and devoid of the characteristics of, Elemental Substances ; and inasmuch as everything possesses the characteristics of Elemental Substances, it must be an Elemental Substance ; so that the denial (in Sū. 30) is not right.”†

*Sūtra 32*

[*Answer*]—What has been urged can not be right ; because as a matter of fact, the cause and production are actually perceived.

BHĀSYA

As a matter of fact (in the case of every ordinary thing, such as the Bull, the Jar and the like), the *cause* is actually perceived ; as also the *production* of the thing possessing qualities analogous to the qualities of the cause ; and neither of these can be possible in regard to an ‘ eternal ’ thing ; nor is it possible to

\* Things composed of elemental substances are not the same as the elemental substances themselves ; the Bull and the Jar for instance are not the same as the subtle Atoms ; for if they were so, they would be as imperceptible as the Atoms are. And since we actually perceive the cause of production and destruction of such things as the Bull and the Jar, these cannot be eternal, even though the elemental substances may be so.—

† Elemental substances are eternal ;—the Bull and the Jar are not anything different from Elemental substances ;—hence eternality cannot be denied of the Bull and the Jar.

deny that there is such perception of the ‘cause’ and the ‘production’ (of the thing); nor again is it possible for a perception to be entirely devoid of a real objective basis; so that on the strength of this perception it is inferred that the product is *produced* (brought into existence) as possessing qualities analogous to those of its cause ; and it is that product which forms the real objective basis for the said perception. This (the fact of products having qualities similar to those of their cause) accounts for the fact that “ all things possess the characteristics of Elemental Substances” (that has been urged by the Opponent in Sū. 31).\*

Further, as a matter of fact, we find that the effort of the cognitive agent is put forth only when he is urged by a desire for the cause of the production (of what he wishes to obtain) and the destruction (of what he wishes to get rid of). [So that Man’s effort also presupposes the *production* and *destruction* of things].

*Thirdly*, every composite substance is known to have that character ; i.e., it is a well-known fact that every composite substance has the character of being liable to production and destruction.

*Fourthly*, what has been urged by the Opponent is not applicable to Sound, Motion, Cognition and such things ; as a matter of fact, the two reasons put forward—(a) “ because the five Elemental Substances are eternal” (Sū. 29) and (b) “because everything is possessed of the characteristics of Elemental Substances ” (Sū. 31)—are not applicable to such things as Sound, Motion, Cognition, Pleasure, Pain, Desire, Aversion and Effort, [as not one of these is either an Elemental Substance, or possessed of the characteristics of elemental substances] ; hence the reason is ‘*anekānta*’ i.e., inconclusive, because non-pervasive, too narrow).

[Says the Opponent ]—“ Like the cognition of things in a dream, the said perception ( of the cause and of production ) is wrong.”

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\* The fact of the Bull and the Jar having the characteristics of Elemental Substances is due to their being the *products* of those substances, and *not* to their being the same as those substances. Hence the said fact cannot prove the eternity of the Bull and the Jar.

The same may be said of the perception of Elemental Substances also. What you mean is that—“The perception of the production and the cause of things is of the same character as the cognition of things in a dream”; but if that be so, then the same might be said also in regard to the perception of Elemental Substances; and the perception of Earth etc. also would have to be regarded as similar to the cognition of things in a dream [so that there would be no justification for regarding even the Elemental Substances as *eternal*].

[The Opponent says]—“If there are no such things as the Earth etc., then the practical usages of men would come to an end.”

The same would apply to the other case also; if there were no real objective basis for the perception of the production and the cause of things, then also all practical usages of men would come to an end.

Further, to argue that “the said perception (of production etc.) is as unreal as the cognition of things during dreams”, is not a right argument at all [i.e., it cannot prove any such conclusion as the Opponent desires to prove, *viz.*, ordinary things like the Bull and the Jar are exactly like the Atoms of Elemental Substances];—(a) because Eternal Substances (Atoms) are beyond the reach of the senses (which the ordinary things of the world are *not*), and (b) because they are *not* objects of *production* and *destruction* (which the ordinary things of the world *are*).

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

“What really happens,” says another philosopher, “is that the Original Substance remaining constant, one property of it ceases and another property is produced;—and this is what forms the object (meaning) of the ‘destruction’ and ‘production’ of the thing; in fact when a thing is said to be ‘produced’, it is something that has been already in existence (in the form of the original substance (even before that ‘production’)); and similarly when a thing is said to be ‘destroyed’ it continues to exist (in the form of the Substance) even after that destruction [for all that has happened is that one *property* has disappeared

and another has appeared]; and in this manner all things are eternal.” \*

[This doctrine is refuted in the following *Sūtra*.]

### *Sūtra 33*

**This cannot be accepted; for (under this theory) there would be no possibility of differentiation.—**

### BHĀṢYA

There would be no possibility of any such differentiation as ‘this is *birth*, and *that is cessation*’; as under the theory put forward what is born and what has ceased to exist are both *extant*. (A) [In regard to properties also] there could be no differentiation (as to Time), such as ‘this property is born and that property has ceased’, as both are equally *extant*;—(B) nor would there be any differentiation as to time,—such as ‘at this time there are birth and cessation, and not at that time’, for *at all times* things would be equally *extant*; (C) nor could there be any differentiation as to *relationship*, such as ‘there are birth and cessation of this property, and not of that’, for both properties would be equally *extant*; (D) nor again, could there be any such differentiation in regard to *Time*, as ‘this, not yet come, is in the future, and that is past’; for under the theory all things are always *extant*, which means that they are always ‘present’ [and as such can never be spoken of as ‘future’ or ‘past’].

None of these objections lie against the view (held by the *Naiyāyika*) that ‘birth’ (production) consists in the coming into existence (gaining its own nature) of what has not been in existence, and cessation (destruction) consists in the ceasing to exist

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\* The *Tātparya* calls this doctrine ‘*Svāyambhuvānāmmatam*’; does it mean the ‘*Śaiva*’ system? The doctrine is thus summed up in the *Tātparya*—“The modification undergone by Substances is of three kinds: (1) modification of properties, (2) modification of condition, and (3) modification of age. E.g. (1) the original substance *Gold* in lump becomes modified into the ear-ring, and here we have the modification of the property (shape) of the gold; (2) when the ear-ring is broken up and made into the bracelet, we have the modification of condition, i.e., the ear-ring has renounced its *present* and reverted to the *past* condition, and the bracelet has removed its *future* and reverted to the *present* condition; and (3) in the beginning the bracelet is new, young, and in time it becomes *old*; so that here we have the modification of age. [The original gold remains constant all the time].”

(losing its own nature) of what has been in existence. For these reasons we conclude that it is not right to assert, as has been asserted by the Opponent (End of Bhāṣya on Sū. 33), that—“a thing exists before it is born, and it exists also after it has been destroyed.”

### *End of Section (8)*

#### SECTION (9)

[Sūtras 34–36]

*The Refutation of the View that all is Diversity, there is no Unity.*

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀṢYA

The following is another sweeping assertion (of the (Buddhas) :—

#### Sūtra 34

“All must be regarded as diverse; because the symbols (names) of things refer to diverse entities.”\*

#### BHĀṢYA

“All must be regarded as diverse; there is no *single entity*.—Why?—*Bhāvalakṣaṇapṛthaktvāt*—says the Sūtra; the ‘lakṣaṇa’

\* It has been established up to this point that all things are aggregates of—‘the Quality and the Qualified’, ‘the negative and the positive’, ‘the intelligent and the non-intelligent’, ‘the eternal and the non-eternal’;—and it becomes necessary to refute the theory that there is no such thing as the ‘aggregate whole’. This theory has been held in several forms—(1) the theory that there is no *unity* (refuted in Sū. 34–36), (2) ‘all is mere Void’ (Sū. 37–40), (3) ‘there is *only one* thing’, or ‘there are *only two* things’, and so forth, (Sū. 41–43). All these have to be refuted, because—(1) if there is no *unity*, no one thing, then of what could there be an *aggregate*? (2) If nothing exists, and all is Void, then there can be no *aggregate*; and (3) similarly there can be no ‘aggregate’ under the theory of absolute Monism.—*Parīśuddhi*.

The doctrine put forward under this Sūtra (34) is thus explained in the *Tātparya* :—“All things must be diverse, distinct; because there is no such thing as ‘substance’, apart from colour etc., and colour etc., are distinct from one another; nor is there any such thing as ‘composite’ apart from the components, and these latter are distinct from one another.” Such is the view of the *Sautrāntikas* and the *Vaiśiṣṭikas*.

Viśvanātha states the doctrine thus—“Such things as the Jar and the like must be regarded as distinct, even from themselves; because the odour, taste, etc., of these things, as also their component parts, are distinct from one another; and the ‘Jar’ is nothing apart from these latter.”

or ‘symbol’ of the ‘*bhāva*’, ‘entity’, is that which distinguishes it, i.e. its name ; and the names refer to diverse entities ; as a matter of fact, all ‘names of things’ denote combinations ; e.g., the name ‘Jar’ is applied to the combination of ‘odour, taste, colour and touch’, (the qualities of the Jar), and also to the combination of the ‘bottom, sides and neck’ (the parts of the Jar) [ and these are diverse, distinct from one another ; and the Jar is nothing apart from these qualities and component parts ]. The ‘Jar’ has been mentioned only by way of illustration [ the same holds good in regard to the *names* of all things. ]”

### Sūtra 35

**What is alleged cannot be accepted ; because (as a matter of fact) several (kinds of) things go to make a single entity.**

#### BHĀŚYA

The compound ‘*anekalakṣaṇaiḥ*’ should be treated as one that has the middle word eliminated, and as standing for ‘*anekaviddhalakṣaṇaiḥ*’, ‘several kinds of things’. As a matter of fact, it is the single entity (the composite substance, Jar) that comes into existence as related to Odour and other qualities, and to the Bottom and other components ; in fact, the *Substance* is something different from its *Qualities*, and the *Composite* is something different from the Components ; both these facts have been already explained by us (under Sū. 2-2-33 *et. seq.*).

Further,—

### Sūtra 36

**The denial cannot be right, as the symbols (of things) are restricted in their application.**

#### BHĀŚYA

The denial—that “there is no single entity”—cannot be right ;—why ?—for the very simple reason that ‘the symbols of things are restricted in their application’ ; as a matter of fact, the ‘symbol’ of entities,—i.e. the word that forms their name, is restricted in its application to single entities ; as is clear from such expressions as ‘I am touching that *Jar* which I saw before’, ‘I am seeing that which I touched before’. Then again, as a matter of fact, we never perceive any mere ‘group of atoms’ as such, and these ‘groups of atoms’ (as composing the

Jar) being imperceptible (by reason of their extreme minuteness), that which is actually perceived must be a single entity (composed of those atoms).

(A) It has been subsequently urged by the Opponent that—“there can be no single entity, because all things are mere groups (of several things)” ;—but if there is no *single* thing, there can be no *group* of things. What the Opponent means is that—“there is no *single* entity as the names of things apply only to groups” ;—but the fact is that if there is no *single* thing, there can be no ‘group’; as the ‘group’ is nothing more than the conglomeration of several *single* things ; so that the allegation—“There is no single entity etc.”—involving a self-contradiction, is most incongruous. That is, that (single entity) of which the denial has been alleged, (by the Opponent, on the basis of the premiss), “because the names of things are applied to groups”,—becomes admitted by the Opponent when he asserts that “the names of things are applied to groups”; for the ‘group’ is only a collection of several *single* entities. (B) Further, in making the allegation—“because the names of things are applied to groups of things”—you admit the ‘group’, and then in the proposition, “there is no single entity” you deny each component of that ‘group’ [for each such component can only be a *single entity*] [and when each component is denied, the *group* also becomes denied *ipso facto*]. Thus then, the Opponent’s allegation being beset with a twofold ‘self-contradiction’ (A & B), it must be rejected as a frivolous assertion.

*End of Section (9)*

## SECTION (10)

[*Sūtras 37-40*]

*The Refutation of the Theory that All is Mere Void.*

### INTRODUCTORY BHĀṢYA

The following is another sweeping assertion :—

*Sūtra 37*

“All things must be non-entities, because all things are known to be mere negations of one another.”

## BHĀSYA

All things must be regarded as non-entities;—why?—because all things are known to be mere negations of one another. As a matter of fact, the Bull is ‘non-existent in the form of ‘Horse’, and the Bull is only ‘not-horse’; similarly the Horse is ‘non-existent’ in the form the ‘Bull’, and the Horse in only ‘not-bull’; thus we find that the names of things (‘Bull’, ‘Horse’ etc.) are concomitant (co-substrate) with the notion of ‘non-existence’ as also with *negation*; from which it follows that all things are *non-existent* or non-entities.”\*

[The *Bhāṣya* offers its own answer to the Nihilistic doctrine put forward in the *Sūtra*]—The assertion put forward cannot be right; because there is contradiction between (A) the two terms of the Proposition and (B) between the Proposition and the Statement of the Probans :

(A) The term ‘all’ signifies *several things without exception*, while the term ‘non-entity’ signifies the *negation of existence*; of these two the former is something possessed of a definite character, while the latter is totally devoid of any character; now

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\* This Nihilism is thus expounded in the *Tātparya* :—‘All things—Pramāṇa and the rest—are actually found to be cognised as ‘non-existent’ and also spoken of in negative terms; hence it follows that the names of those things are concomitant with these (the notion of non-existence and negation); hence Pramāṇa and the rest must be regarded as non-existent, as nonentities, just like the Cloth that has either not come into existence or has been destroyed. Further are these things—Pramāṇa etc.—eternal, or evanescent? If they are eternal, they must be non-entities, being without any capacity or power; as we have already explained how no sequence being possible among things that are eternal, no eternal things can ever bring about a product. If, on the other hand, the things are evanescent, then, since they would be liable to destruction, they would be *non-existent* at the first as at the second moment. Further, if things are *existent*, they should not be liable to destruction, and as such they could not be destroyed at any point of time; for the blue Colour, being brought about by its cause, can never be turned into yellow by even thousands of painters. In fact evanescent things cannot but be regarded as liable to destruction. From all this we conclude that all things are mere *Void, Blank*; and it is only through assumed *existence* that they appear as *existing*. The reasoning may be formulated thus:—“All names of things apply to non-existent things,—because they are concomitant with notions of *non-existence* and *negation*,—like the unproduced and the destroyed Cloth.”

how can that which is spoken of as possessed of definite character, i.e., 'all', be a mere 'non-entity', which is devoid of any character? Certainly the 'non-entity', which is totally devoid of any character, cannot be predicated either as 'several' or as 'without exception' [which are the two factors in the denotation of the term 'all'].

"But it is just all this that is non-entity; what you (Logician) call the 'all' is what is really only non-entity."

Even so the 'contradiction' does not cease; for the conception of 'several things' and 'without exception' cannot possibly arise in regard to what is mere non-entity;\* and yet it is just this conception that is expressed by the term 'all'; hence it follows that this 'all' cannot be a *non-entity*.

(B) There is contradiction also between the Proposition and the Statement of the Probans; the Proposition is in the form 'all things are non-entities', and it denies the existence (of all things); and the statement of the Probans is 'because all things are known to be mere negations of one another',—which admits that there is 'mutual negation' among 'things'; and then on the basis thereof—the fact of there being mutual negation having been established,—it is asserted that 'all things are non-entities';—now if 'all things are non-entities', then it is not possible for 'things' to be the 'negation of one another'; and if 'things' are 'negations of one another,' then 'all things' cannot be 'non-entities'.

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The following is the answer (to Nihilism) offered by the *Sūtra*—

#### *Sūtra* 38

**What has been alleged is not right, because things are, by virtue of their very nature, real entities.**

#### BHĀSYA

(A) All things cannot be non-entities.—Why?—Because by virtue of their very nature things are real entities (really existing). The proposition laid down is that *by their very nature*

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\* The right reading is अभावे प्रत्ययेन (as in the Puri Ms.). Construe thus: अनेकमरोषष्टिं प्रत्ययेन अभावे न मवितुं शक्यम्।

*things exist.* “ What is the *nature* of things ? ” ‘ Existence ’, ‘ being an entity ’, and so forth constitute the nature or character common to Substances, Qualities and Actions ;—‘ having action ’ and so forth are the ‘ character ’ peculiar to Substances ;—the qualities ending with Touch belong to Earth ;—so on and so forth there are endless characters peculiar to the several things of the world ;—in *Universal*, in *Individuality* and in *Inherence* also we find specific characters. All this distinction among things which is recognised in actual experience, would not be possible [if all things were mere non-entities], as a non-entity is without any character ;—and yet such distinction among things does exist ;—from which it follows that all things are not mere non-entities.

(B) [Another interpretation of the Sūtra]—Or, the words of the Sūtra may be taken to mean that—*what has been asserted cannot be right ; because each thing is recognised as having a distinct individuality of its own* ; that is to say, when the word ‘ Bull ’ is used, what is apprehended is a particular substance qualified by (belonging to) a particular community, and not a mere non-entity. If all things were non-entities, the Bull would have been recognised as a ‘ non-entity ’, and the word ‘ Bull ’ would have denoted a *non-entity*. “ But how do you know that the word ‘ Bull ’ does not signify a non-entity ? ” \* We know it from the fact that whenever the word ‘ Bull ’ is used, it brings about the notion of a particular substance, and not that of a non-entity. For these reasons what has been asserted by the Opponent cannot be right.

(C) Or, the words of the Sūtra ‘ *na svabhāvasiddheḥ etc.* ’ may be explained to mean as follows :—When you assert (Bhā. on Sū. 37) that “ the Bull is non-existent *in the form of the Horse* ”, why do not you say that “ the Bull is non-existent *in the form of the bull* ” ? † That you do not say so indicates that *in the form of the Bull* the Bull is *existent* ; that is what is meant by the expression ‘ *Svabhāvasiddhi* ’, ‘ existence in its own form ’. [If you really mean that things are non-existent], why cannot you say that the

\* The right reading is कस्मात् गोशब्देन चाभाव उच्यते, as found in Puri Ms. B.

† असन् गौर्गवात्मनेति कस्मात्त्रोच्यते is the better reading, as found in Puri Ms. B.

Horse is not-Horse, or that the Bull is not-Bull? Since you do not say so, it follows that *in its own form*, the substance exists.

\* As a matter of fact, whenever there is denial of non-difference—‘difference’ consisting, in this case, of the absence of conjunction and such other relations, and ‘non-difference’ consisting of identity,—even really existing things come to be spoken of as co-substrate (concomitant) with the notion of ‘non-existence’, as we find in the case of the expression ‘the jujube fruit is *not* in the cup’;†—so that in the case in question, in the expressions ‘the Bull is non-existent in the form of the Horse’, ‘the Bull is not-Horse’, what is denied is the non-difference between the Bull and the Horse,—the meaning being that, ‘there is no identity between the Bull and the Horse’; and this identity being denied, there comes about the co-substrateness or concomitance of the notion of ‘non-existence’ with the thing, ‘Bull’; hence the expression ‘the Bull is *non-existent*, in the form of the Horse’; just as in the sentence ‘the jujube fruit is *not* in the cup’, the conjunction of the fruit with the cup being denied, we have the co-substrateness of the notion of ‘non-existence’ with the fruit which is a real entity. [All this shows that ‘concomitance with the notion of *non-existence*,’ upon which the Opponent bases his arguments, in Bhāṣya, on Sū. 37, is not incompatible with *real entities*.]

### Sūtra 39

[Objection]—“There is no such thing as the character (or individuality) of things; as what is so regarded has only a relative existence.”§

#### BHĀSYA

“‘Relative’ is that which is due to the *relativity* of things: e.g., a thing is spoken of as ‘long’ in relation to what is ‘short’,

\* This, according to the *Vārtika*, explains how we have the negation expressed in the statement, ‘the Bull is not-horse’.

† This is an obscure passage; the obscurity being due to wrong readings. From what follows in the next sentence it is clear that the passage should read as follows—अव्यतिरेकप्रतिषेधे—असंयोगादिसम्बन्धो व्यतिरेकोऽत्राव्यतिरेकोऽभेदाख्यसम्बन्धः—भावेन असत्प्रत्ययस्यासामानाधिकरण्यम्। यथा न सन्ति कुण्डे बदराणीति।

§ Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa reads in this Sūtra a reference to the *Mādhyamikā-Sūtra*.

and ‘short’ in relation to what is ‘long’; and neither of the two has an absolute existence of its own—Why so?—Because such is the force of relativity. Hence we conclude that there is no such thing as the *character or individuality* of things.”\*

### Sūtra 40

[*Answer*]—What is put forward cannot be right, as it involves a self-contradiction.

### BHĀSYA

If a thing is ‘long’ only relatively to the ‘short’, then the ‘short’ should be *non-relative*; for to what would the ‘short’ be relative? (Similarly) if a thing is ‘short’ only relatively to the ‘long’, then the ‘long’ should be *non-relative*; for to what would the ‘long’ be relative? And if the two depended upon each other, then the negation of one would imply the negation of the other, so that there would be negation of both. Hence it is not right to assert that the character of the ‘short’ is to be determined only relatively to the ‘long’.†

Further, if there is no such thing as the ‘character’ (or individuality) of things, [and all is merely relative], why do we not have the relative notions of ‘length’ and ‘shortness’ in regard to two equal Atoms, or to any two objects of equal size? For, taken relatively or non-relatively, the two things remain the same; the two things taken relatively remain precisely the same two things, even when not taken relatively; the presence or absence of relativity does not alter the things themselves [so that under the *Pūrvapakṣa* theory, there can be no reason why the notions of ‘length’ and ‘shortness’ should not arise in regard to the two Atoms]; but if the character of things were purely relative, then the presence of *relativity* (of one thing or the other) would surely make a difference in the nature of things. “What then is the effect of *relativity* on things?” What *relativity* does

\* All things are relative : the *blue* is blue in relation to, in comparison with, the *yellow*; the *father* is so in relation to the *son*, and so forth, with all things.—*Tātparya*.

† The whole of this passage is read better in Puri Ms. B. यदि हस्तापेक्षाकृतं दीर्घं हस्तमनोपेक्षिकम् किमिदानीमपेक्ष्य..... दीर्घमनोपेक्षिकम् । किमिदानीमपेक्ष्य दीर्घमिति गृह्णते । एवमितरेतराश्रययोरेकाभावेऽन्यतराभावादुभया भावइति दीर्घापेक्षाव्यवस्थाऽनुपाचा ।

is that when we perceive two things, it becomes possible for us to perceive the preponderance of one over the other ;\* that is, when one sees two things and notices a preponderance in one of them, he regards it as 'long', and that which he finds deficient, he regards as 'short'; this is what is done by relativity.

*End of Section (10)*

SECTION (11)

[*Sūtras 41-43*]

*Examination of certain sweeping assertions in regard to  
the exact number of things*

INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The following are the sweeping assertions in regard to the exact number of things :—(I) "All things are *one*, all being equally existent" ; (II) "All things are *two*, being divided into *eternal* and *non-eternal*" ; (III) "All things are *three, cogniser, cognition and cognised*" ; (IV) "All things are *four, cogniser, means of cognition, cognised and cognition*" ; and so on there are other assertions on the same lines. It is the examination of these views that proceeds now.†

\* E. g. When we perceive the bamboo relatively to the sugar-cane, this relativity leads us to the judgment that the former is 'longer' than the latter, or that the latter is 'shorter' than the former.

† These views are criticised, because they limit all things within one particular number :—According to (I) there is only one thing, according to (II) there are two things, and so forth.

The *Parīśuddhi* remarks—The question arises—Why should those views be criticised which are not incompatible with the Nyāya view of things being the conglomeration or composite of several component particles? But the fact of the matter is that those theories limit things within one definite number only: e.g., 'There are only two things', and *two* only,—then, inasmuch as those two would be everlasting, there would be no explanation of the fact that they bring about their effects only *occasionally*; under this theory the appearance of effects should be unceasing. Similarly with the other views.

The *Tātparya* offers the following explanations of the two views mentioned in the *Bhāṣya* :—

(1) The entire phenomenon of the world is nothing apart from the *Light of Consciousness*; everything is an emanation from this Light. There is no difference among cognitions, nor between the cognised object and its cognition; as everything is a manifestation of Consciousness, which is

*Sūtra 41*

**Any absolute limitation of the number (of things) cannot be established, either in the event of the means (of proving it) being available, or in that of its being not available.**

## BHĀSYA

If the *means* of proving the desired conclusion is (available, and) something different from the conclusion *to be proved*, then no limitation of number can be proved ; as the said Means will always, *ex-hypothesi*, be something outside that limited number (which, being included in the ‘conclusion to be proved’) could not include the *means* of proving (that same conclusion). If, on the other hand, there is no difference between the Means and the Conclusion to be proved by it, then also the limitation of number cannot be proved, as there is, *ex-hypothesi*, no real *means* of proving, and in the absence of such means nothing can be proved.

*Sūtra 42*

[*Objection*]—“What has been urged is not true ; as the means (of proving) is only a part (of what is to be proved)”.

## BHĀSYA

“It is not true that the limitation of number cannot be proved ;—why ?—because the means is a part (of what is proved by it) ; it is only a part of the subject-matter of the Proposition which is the Means of proving that Proposition ; so that the Means need not be anything different. Similarly with the views that *there are only two things*, and so forth”.

*Sūtra 43*

[*Answer*]—The reason put forward is no reason at all ; as (according to the Pūrvapakṣa) things can have no ‘parts’.

Cognition. (II) ‘Eternal’ and ‘non-eternal’, being contradictory terms, must include all things ; there can be nothing that is not either ‘eternal’ or ‘non-eternal’.

The “other assertions” referred to in the *Bhāsyā* are—(1) that of the Sāṅkhya, that Soul and Primordial Matter are the only two entities ; (2) that of the Baudha, that the only entities are the five *skandhas* of Form, Name, Impression, Sensation and Cognition ; and (3) that of the Pāśupata, that the only entities are the *Paśu* (living beings), their bondage, the removal of this bondage, and the Lord.

## BHĀSYA

The reason put forward (in Sū. 42) is "as the means of proving is only a part of what is to be proved"; but this is not a valid reason;—why?—because the Opponent has laid down the sweeping assertion that "all things are *one only*", without any exception at all; and then (in the reason put forward) he speaks of a certain thing (the Means of Proving) as being 'one' (part of the subject of the proposition); but there is nothing (apart from that 'one') which, in the Proposition, takes in, *all things*, that could be the 'part' and the necessary 'means of proving'.\* Similarly with the other views limiting the number of things to 'two' etc.

If all these sweeping assertions in regard to the limitation of the number of things proceed on the basis of the denial of the indefinite number of diversities among things due to their distinctive properties, they militate against well-known facts ascertained from Perception, Inference and Verbal Cognition; and as such they have to be rejected as wrong doctrines. If, on the other hand, they proceed on the basis of the admission of the said diversities, then they renounce their absolutism; as the inclusion of things (under any one head) is due to the presence of common properties, and the exclusion (or diversity) of things is due only to the presence of distinct properties [so that the admission of the diversity of things involves the admission of an indefinite number of diversities, and the renouncing of all limitation of the number].

All the above sweeping assertions (from Sū. 14 to Sū. 43) have been examined with a view to get at the discernment of True Knowledge.

*End of Section (11)*

\* If there were such a thing as the *part* of what is to be proved, then this would mean that there is no absolute limitation of the number of things to *one only*. When it is stated that "all things are *one*", nothing is left out; so that there is nothing that is not included in the Proposition which could be the proof of that proposition.

## SECTION (12)

[Sūtras 44-54]

*On Fruition—the Tenth object of Cognition  
INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA*

After *Rebirth*, comes *Fruition*; and with regard to this—  
*Sūtra 44*

**there arises a doubt since the fulfilment of the result (of acts) is found to appear immediately as well as after some time.**

## BHĀSYA

When a man cooks rice or milks the cow, the results, in the shape of the Rice and the Milk respectively, appear immediately; whereas when he ploughs the field and sows the seeds, the result in the shape of the Harvest, accrues to him after some time;—now the *Agnihotra* is an act, the performance whereof is laid down in the text ‘One desiring heaven should perform the *Agnihotra*’; and in regard to the fruition of this act, there arises a doubt (as to whether or not any results follow it, and if they do, when they follow, and so forth).\*

*Sūtra 45*

[*Siddhānta*.]—The fruition is not immediate; because it is such as can be experienced only at a later time.†

\* Says the *Parīsuddhi*—It is not possible that there should be any such doubt regarding *Fruition* in general, as to whether it appears immediately after the act, or after the lapse of some time; for so far as the acts of cooking, etc., are concerned, it is already ascertained that their fruition is immediate; and in regard to the acts of *Agnihotra*, etc., also, it is already known that their fruition comes only after the lapse of some time. But what gives rise to the doubt is the very fact of the *Agnihotra*, etc., being *actions*, involving the effort of an intelligent agent; and inasmuch as it is found that the activities of intelligent beings are of both kinds—some having their fruition immediately and others after the lapse of time, there is nothing to show for certain to which of the two classes the action of *Agnihotra* belongs.

† This *Sūtra* is not found in the *Nyāyasūchinibandha*; and the *Tātparya* calls it ‘Bhāṣya’. Viśvanātha treats it as ‘Sūtra’, and it is found in the Puri ‘Sūtra’ Ms. as also in Sūtra MSS. C. and D.

The *Siddhānta* embodied in the *Sūtra* is in answer to the *Pūrvapakṣa* that it is not necessary to assume any invisible superphysical results for *Agnihotra*, etc., since we find them bringing about the immediate result in the shape of Fame, etc.—Viśvanātha.

## BHĀSYA

‘Heaven’ is the result mentioned in the scriptures ; and the attainment of Heaven accrues only to another body, which comes after the present body has been destroyed ; and in the case of actions done with a view to the acquiring of landed property also, we find that the result does not appear immediately after the actions have been done.\*

## Sūtra 46

[*Objection.*]—“The fruition cannot appear at another time ; as the cause thereof will have ceased to exist.”

## BHĀSYA

“The actual action (the sacrificial performance) having ceased to exist, the result of that action could not come about, in the absence of its cause (in the shape of the action); for, as a matter of fact, no effect is ever found to be produced out of a cause that has ceased to exist.”

## Sūtra 47

[*Answer.*]—Prior to the actual fulfilment of the fruition there would be something (in the shape of an inter-mediary), just as there is in the case of the fruit of trees.

## BHĀSYA

The man who desires fruits renders such services to the tree as pouring water at its roots, and so forth ; and it is only after the actual act of watering has ceased to exist that the earth particles (under the tree’s roots) become lumped together by the particles of water, and becoming heated with the heat underground, they produce a juicy substance ; this juicy substance, as modified by the heat, comes into contact with the tree and, in a peculiarly modified form enters into it and produces the leaf etc., and the fruit ;—in this manner the action of *watering* is fruitful, and yet the result does not quite follow from a cause that has entirely ceased to exist. In the same manner actions produce (in the Soul) a faculty in the shape of *Dharma-Adharma*, Merit-Demerit ; and this faculty, after being produced, comes to be helped

\* Puri Ms. B. reads प्राप्तादिकानाम् which would mean that—‘in the case of the actions done by men still in the meshes of ignorance’. But in view of what follows later on in the *Bhāṣya*, the reading of the Viz. text is better.

by other causes and thus brings about the results at a later time. This is what we have already explained under Sū. 3-2-60, where it has been shown that 'the body comes into existence on account of the continuity of the results of previous deeds'.

*Pūrvapakṣa*

Says the Opponent—

*Sūtra 48*

"Prior to its fulfilment, the accomplished fruition (result) cannot be either (A) non-existent, (B) or existent, (C) or existent-non-existent; because 'existent' and 'non-existent' are contradictory."\*

BHĀSYA

(a) "A thing that is liable to be accomplished (produced) could not be *non-existent*, before its production; because of the restriction in regard to the material cause of things; that is, as a matter of fact, for the bringing about of a certain product (the Jar, e.g.) it is only the particular material (Clay) that is brought in; and it is not that any and every material is brought in for the making of all things; there could not be this limitation or restriction (in the form that one product is produced out of only one material substance, and not from all substances), if the product were absolutely *non-existent* (before its production).†

(b) "Nor could the thing be *existent* (prior to its production); because if the thing already exists, before it is brought about, there could not (need not) be a further 'production' of that same thing."

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\* The question going to be discussed now is whether the Fruition or Result of Acts is something that, prior to its being brought about, was—(1) already existent, or (2) non-existent, or (3) both existent and non-existent, or (4) neither existent nor non-existent. The Pūrvapakṣa propounded in the Sūtra is that no one of these alternatives is possible, hence there can be no such thing as the 'fruition' of actions.—*Tātparya*.

The fourth of these alternatives is found in the *Vārtika*, not in the Sūtra or in the Bhāṣya. In this Sūtra also Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa finds a reference to the *Mādhyamikā-Sūtras*.

† The very fact that it is only out of Clay that the Jar is produced, clearly shows that the Jar already exists in the Clay. Cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 9—'Upādānagrahanāt.'

(c) “Nor could the thing be both *existent* and *non-existent*; because ‘*existent*’ and ‘*non-existent*’ are contradictory: the term ‘*existent*’ affirms a thing, while the term ‘*non-existent*’ denies it; and it is this mutually contradictory character that is spoken of as ‘dissimilarity’ (in the Sūtra); and because of this fact their being contradictories, no co-existence of them is possible.”

#### INTRODUCTORY BHĀSYA

The truth of the matter is that prior to being produced, the thing to be produced was *non-existent*.—“How so?”—

Sūtra 49

Because we perceive the production as well as destruction (of things).\*

#### BHĀSYA

It has been alleged (in the Bhāsyā on Sū. 48) by the *Pūrvapakṣin* that—“Prior to its production, the Product is not non-existent, because of the restriction in regard to the material cause of things” ;—[the answer to that is as follows]—

Sūtra 50

That the product is non-existent is clearly proved by that very conception.

#### BHĀSYA

The conception (of restriction in regard to the material cause, which the Opponent has cited) is in the form ‘this thing, and not all things, is capable of producing this effect’ ; and this conception clearly proves that prior to being produced, every effect is known as capable of being produced by a particular cause ; and that this conception is correct is shown by the fact that the production of the effect is actually in accordance with that conception ; and in fact it is only on the basis of this conception that we can explain the restriction in regard to the cause of things. If, on the other hand, the product is already existent, prior to being produced, then there can be no such thing as its ‘*production*’ [so that there could be no conception

\* If a thing is existent, even prior to being produced, it means that it is eternal; and if it is eternal, there can be production or destruction of it.

at all in regard to its being produced out of only a particular material cause].\*

### Sūtra 51

[*Objection*]—“The receptacles being different [in the case of the fruition of acts], it is not right to argue that it is like the fruition of trees.”—

#### BHĀSYA

“[In the case of the fruition of trees] it is found that the services rendered, in the shape of the watering of the roots and so forth, as well as the *fruition*, both are in the tree itself,—both have the same tree for their receptacle; [in the case of the fruition of actions] on the other hand, the action occurs in the present body, while the fruition appears in the next body; so that there being a difference in the receptacles, what has been urged (in Sū. 47) does not prove anything at all (in regard to the sacrificial acts being the cause of fruition in the shape of Heaven, etc.)”.

### Sūtra 52

[*Answer*.]—Inasmuch as Happiness subsists in the Soul, the objection has no force at all.

#### BHĀSYA

Happiness, being perceptible to the Soul, subsists in the Soul; *action* also,—in the form known as ‘*Dharma*’, ‘*Merit*’—subsists in the Soul,—as *Dharma* is a quality of the Soul; thus then, there is no possibility of *receptacles being different*.†

### Sūtra 53

[*Objection*]—“What has been just said is not true; as [the obtaining of] Son, Wife, Cattle, Clothing, Gold, Food and such things is mentioned as the fruit (of acts).”

\* The very conception that a thing is produced only out of a certain cause proves that before being produced that thing must be non-existent. The weaver takes up the yarns with the idea—‘the Cloth shall be produced out of this’ and not that ‘the Cloth is here already’; for in the latter case, why should he put forth any effort to bring into existence the Cloth which already exists?

† ‘Heaven’, which is the result of sacrificial acts, is only a form of Happiness; and Happiness subsists in the Soul, not in the Body; and Soul remains the same through the several lives.

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